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EQUALITY AND QUALITY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. REPORT OF A CONFERENCE.

CONNECTICUT COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, HARTFORD
CONNECTICUT STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION, HARTFORD

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TRANSCRIPTS OF THE MAJOR PAPERS DELIVERED AT A CONNECTICUT CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND EDUCATIONAL EQUALITY MAKE UP THE BULK OF THIS DOCUMENT. THE PAPERS DEAL WITH THE EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL NEED FOR INTEGRATION, THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING A PERSPECTIVE IN INTEGRATION EFFORTS, SCHOOL SYSTEM POLICY, "INTEGRATION VS. DESEGREGATION," CONNECTICUT STATUTES RELEVANT TO SCHOOL INTEGRATION, AND INTEGRATION EFFORTS IN CONNECTICUT AND NEW YORK STATE. (EF)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Equality and Quality In the Public Schools

Report of a Conference

Sponsored Jointly by

THE CONNECTICUT COMMISSION

ON CIVIL RIGHTS

and

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FOREWORD

THE CONFERENCE recorded here grew from talks between the Connecticut State Board of Education and the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights. A joint committee of these agencies planned the conference to "present reliable information and inspire realistic, creative thinking and action on school desegregation and quality education for all children in Connecticut."

School board members, administrators, education association leaders, legislators, municipal human rights officials, and others with direct responsibility were invited. More than 200 attended. Educators and civil rights leaders stimulated group discussions at luncheon and contributed local knowledge to afternoon workshops, which presented out-of-state experts primarily.

Findings of a statewide racial census of public school pupils, undertaken by the State Department of Education and released at the conference, showed racial imbalances in certain Connecticut schools.

The conference was unique—perhaps the first anywhere on school desegregation to be sponsored jointly by the two state agencies most directly concerned.

Like all human gatherings, it was, of course, unique also in the interactions of those who were there. Shared feelings were generated which will linger to leaven the process of school desegregation in Connecticut.

The addresses are preserved here as a resource for school boards and other agencies striving to achieve quality and equality in those public schools which their own thoughts and actions can affect.

Connecticut Governor John Dempsey (left); Arthur L. Green, Executive Secretary, Commission on Civil Rights; and Mrs. Rosenthal.

'Separate Is Not Equal'

Address By

MRS. SARAH G. ROSENTHAL

Chairman, Commission on Civil Rights

IT IS INDEED a privilege to welcome you to today's proceedings. We have a long and purposeful agenda, so my remarks must be brief.

I wish there were time enough to sound a proper keynote for this significant meeting which marks the first time that those of us charged by law with responsibility of administering and enforcing the Civil Rights Codes meet with those of you who are charged with the overwhelming responsibility of educating our young people to fit themselves for their proper place in our democratic society. Today, I hope, will afford the opportunity for the establishment of dialogue between educators, boards of education, school administrators, the Commission on Civil Rights, and the local community human rights groups.

The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights is an agency legally constituted for the purpose of assuring equal treatment to all of the state's people. At present, when there is rapid social change, it is imperative that such a body act in the vigorous spirit of the times.

The commission has broad scope beyond the enforcement of fair employment practices, public accommodations, and age sections of its code and is empowered by law to go into fields of public information and education. It has a charge to study the problems of discrimination in all and specific fields of human relations and to use its offices to promote goodwill among all groups and elements of our population. It cooperates with the increasing number of volunteer human relations groups, and it hopes to cooperate to an even greater degree with local school administrators and their boards of education.

The commission is required to report to the Governor and to make recommendations for the removal of such injustices as it may find. Too, it has the responsibility of advising public agencies on civil rights matters.

Within the broad perimeter of its mandate, it must use the full measure of its power to search out illegal acts of discrimination and correct them. It must move to promote a climate conducive to general acceptance of civil rights laws. Where the law has not spoken, it may suggest new laws consonant with expanding concepts of legal equality and equal justice.

Let me cite just a few statistics to outline the background within which we must jointly operate. The non-white population of Connecticut has

increased more than threefold in the last 20 years: 1940–33,00; 1950–53,000; and 1960–107,000. It is an extremely young population, nearly half of it under 21 years of age.

Accordingly, what happens to it in the public schools is extremely important. Eighty-five percent of this population lives within the city boundaries, and in most cities within the segregated areas of the city.

Children within such areas are associating–both in their schools and their neighborhoods–with educationally deprived persons. One-half of the non-white adults in Connecticut have gone no further than grammar school. In one Connecticut city, non-white children comprise more than half of all the children in the elementary schools.

It is the view of the commission that the failure to eliminate defacto segregated schools not only condemns Negro children to an unequal education, but also tends to perpetuate a segregated society by presenting segregation to all children as an acceptable way of life.

Our jobs in achieving desegregation are not easy, but mutual problems can only be worked out after communications are established and there is general agreement to attempt to move toward a solution.

I am sure that when the annals of the struggle for equal rights are examined and the long, slow chronology is tolled, men will pause to remember that memorable morning in May, 1954, when the Supreme Court of the United States decided with brilliant clarity that "separate is not equal."

That is now the law of the land–it is a mandate binding on all officialdom and all citizens. I realize that the implementation of this rule of law is not self-executing. It is difficult. Complicated problems never have simple solutions except in slogans of demagogues. Ours is a government of law, and we must all come to accept our laws with willingness and grace.

I know how hard and long many of you work within the exigencies of budgetary limits and that all of you are aware that schools are more than imposing plants. They are one of the basic community resources for achieving the highest goals to which men aspire, and your part in achieving these goals is an essential one. Parenthetically, it goes without saying that educators and administrators need substantial community support in carrying out their plans and in performing their duties.

As science and technology advance, in this age of cyberenetics, it becomes essential that every member of the society who can be educated to take up his responsibilities. He must acquire skills to obtain a job to earn money for a decent home, to establish a satisfactory milieu in which his children may grow up. I do not imply that everyone has the same capacity for learning, but we must not be misled by con-

fusing the cumulative effects of a child's surroundings and his cultural advantages with his innate potentiality. Nor must we be mesmerized by tests which are, at best, only devices to measure objectively—they can be wrong too. Old techniques must be re-evaluated, even tests that have been used for a long time must be re-assayed.

Teachers and administrators must bring to bear all their knowledge and information, all their empathy and sensitivity, to respond to the child who has not enjoyed the privileges we consider the concomitants of an affluent society. There is no one who can take the place of a dedicated teacher. Merely to pass on information is not enough. To awaken a wish to pursue knowledge. To trigger the dynamics of learning calls for the development of refined skills and for an understanding of motivation, as well as of the whole field of child psychology. Only when teachers teach all children without favor and in the true spirit of equality will schools serve their purpose.

I repeat what I quoted earlier—separate is not equal. Children must learn together so that they may live together. If we diminish the potential of even one child, we diminish to that extent the richness of our society.

I have talked in terms of our legal obligations and our democratic goals. More pragmatically, even more elliptically, let me say that if our young people are properly educated, our country will thrive. It will mean a larger Gross National Product, more purchasing power, and a more efficient economy.

Today you will hear experts propose plans for desegregation and integration tried elsewhere and perhaps suggestions of some yet untried. You will have the opportunity to express your concern about and your reaction to those plans which can best be implemented in your community. I am sure that I express the feeling of both the State Board of Education and the Commission on Civil Rights when I say that we are grateful to you for the goodwill that brought you here and for your willingness to participate. If each one of us goes home with an open mind and a desire to do all he can to set his own community on the road toward equality and quality in education, this conference will have been a success. In that spirit let us open the conference.

'A Plea for a National Campaign'

Address By

DAVID S. SEELEY

Assistant Commissioner, Educational Opportunities Program, U. S. Office of Education

AMERICA has underestimated the difficulty of school desegregation. We are deluding ourselves if we believe that we have made any more than the barest beginning in solving the racial problems in our schools, whether they be Southern or Northern.

Mr. Seeley

Many of us in America assumed that because the Supreme Court had spoken and the Congress had passed the Civil Rights Act, segregation would disappear. It will not. We have known from the beginning that some of our fellow countrymen felt strongly about preserving segregation, even to the point of intimidation and murder, but it was assumed that this number was small. It is not; although, hopefully, the number that will carry their feelings to the point of murder is a small one.

But it has become clear, in fact it becomes clearer with each passing day, that there are millions of Americans who will actively oppose any real desegregation of our segregated society—at least when it comes close to home, when it involves their *own* children or their *own* neighborhood. They don't deny the ill-effects of segregation, of separate schools *(de jure or de facto)*. They don't deny the slums, the ghettos, the grievous waste of human lives and economic resources. They don't deny any of these things, nor the need to overcome this deprivation for the ultimate survival of us all. What they do deny, instead—and it is, tragically, much more significant—is their *own* involvement, their *own* responsibility, their *own* commitment to solving the problem in their *own* communities.

These Americans are found all over the country—North, South, East, and West.

The fact of the matter is that segregation is a very long-standing habit in our society. It has cut very deeply into our cultural patterns

and into our institutions. It is ingrained in our national fiber. Those deep cultural habits are hard to break, and there is no place where they are harder to break than in the schools. For this is the institution, more than any other, which we have used in this country—either consciously or unconsciously—to preserve segregation. It is in our schools, particularly, that children have learned that segregation is part of the American way of life, whatever our laws or our American ideals may say to the contrary.

It seems that the closer we have come to any meaningful desegregation of schools, the more the opposition, the resistance, the emotional reaction has mounted. The experience is not dissimilar to the reaction of the dope addict who will find every reason, every excuse as to why he can't and even why he shouldn't mend his ways. And at times he will become emotional, and even violent. The disease of segregation is much more serious, much more prevalent than addiction can ever be. But it still has many of the aspects of a bad habit; and if we don't cure this habit, it will do more than destroy our health, it will destroy our country.

When millions of people resist the enforcement of a law or national policy, there is bound to be trouble. And that is where we are in the matter of school desegregation—in grave trouble.

Those who want to preserve segregation in America are encouraged that they have found support in all parts of the country. They hope that somehow or other, they can make the civil rights movement go away and everything will go back to the way it was before this annoying business came along to interfere with our peaceful, old-time America.

But this can never be done. For the necessity to eliminate segregation from American society, and especially from our schools, is written into the fundamental law of our land and the basic principles on which our country was founded. If we should now dodge our responsibilities for carrying through to completion the elimination of racial discrimination, we will have betrayed one of the very special values of this uniquely blessed land.

This is a sweeping, and perhaps you will think, an exaggerated statement. But I would like to devote the rest of my talk to explaining why I believe it is so important that we take seriously the plea to launch a national campaign to wipe out segregation from American society. And, equally important, why it is essential that the schools play a key role in this campaign.

Why does the President call for a conscious, national campaign against segregation? There are several reasons—some of them familiar, some of them, I know, annoying to many Americans.

There is, for instance, the increased importance of our involvement in the world—a world which is predominantly non-white.

Unlike 60 years ago, or even 30 years ago, this country's internal affairs are open to the eyes of the world. The issue of racial segregation in the United States has commanded worldwide attention. It should be evident to the American people, as it is to the world at large, that we must resolve this issue, not only to preserve our own liberties, but to enable us to continue to hold out to the world the principles of individualism and justice so carefully nurtured over the centuries in the Western world and especially in America.

The shot heard around the world 190 years ago proclaimed certain truths to be self-evident. Our challenge now is to assure that these truths do not die in a world of increasing hostility. There is a competing ideology which professes to offer more, especially to the increasing number of non-white peoples in the world. It will succeed—to the extent that we fail to live up to our principles of equal rights and individual opportunity.

Increasingly, and especially since the Second World War, as Commissioner Howe has stated, this country has "taken the lead in the pursuit of peace and human rights." The eyes of the world are upon us. Not only is our example important, but it is important that we live up to our promises—the promises first made 190 years ago, and repeatedly given to those streams of immigrants through Ellis Island on their way to freedom from want and oppression. This is what the rest of the world has looked to us for, and they will remind us of our ideals even if, at times, we choose to forget them ourselves.

Some Americans are annoyed that our international responsibilities have increased the necessity for us to live up to our national ideals at home. The attitude is almost, "Why can't we have our sins, like everyone else?" For those people, I would say:

Let us face it frankly: The matter may be one of self-preservation as well as idealism. In a world soon to be three-quarters populated with darker races, the principles of equal justice and individualism are the only principles which will permit the various minorities of the world to live in peace and productive harmony and still preserve their liberty. The break which we made, in establishing this country, from the older forms of social organization based on family and tribe and nationality, is a break the entire world must make if there is ever to be peace in the world. These are the principles it is worthwhile for America to fight for. But we surely cannot hope they will prevail if we show that we cannot live up to them at home.

And domestically, as well, there is every compelling, practical reason why we can no longer afford to put up with segregation. We can't afford the high cost of segregation in dollars and cents, any more than we can afford to renege on our promises in the world at large. Where schools were officially segregated, dual programs (however "equal")

have robbed *all* children, white and Negro alike, of the chance for the best education. Where schools are unofficially segregated we all know that educational opportunities are thwarted in much the same way. Neither quality education nor equal education is achieved in segregated schools.

Economically, segregated education results in a vast waste of talent.

A distinguished sociologist has said: "Fourteen generations of Negro talent have already been wasted by American society; our technological society cannot afford to waste yet another."

We, also, can't afford the added dollar cost to the nation in terms of welfare assistance, aid to children of dependent adults, juvenile delinquency, and various correctional services, to mention a few. These costs, which we have brought about by our social system, far exceed the cost of desegregating educational facilities and revitalizing educational programs to bring quality education to children of all races.

And while we have deplored the need for these welfare services—let's be frank—they have been a slave to our conscience. We found it easier to treat the symptoms instead of the sickness, because we have not wanted to face up to our own national illness.

The money we now spend on welfare, delinquency, and crime, we could, instead, spend on training teachers, equalizing facilities, and on mounting a real effort to provide quality education to all. But we fail to do this because we try to pretend that these social ills are merely aberrations, instead of inevitable results of a social system which, in one respect at least, is designed to defeat people.

So if we look at the practical side, as is the American custom to do, it is clear that we can no longer afford to permit segregation to continue—either domestically or in the context of our world environment.

But there is more to it than this, and Americans must become mature enough to look beyond the immediately practical. The need for a national commitment at this time to wipe out segregation grows out of history and out of a special need that confronts us today.

We lived with segregation in this country for decades. It was evil, it is true, and perhaps it is easy to say that our forefathers should have done something about it. But the fact is that the issue really wasn't raised as a national issue then. Now it has been. The issue is squarely before us, and we dare not fail to face up to our responsibilities.

Desegregation is an idea whose time has come. It's a force for rights which cannot be denied. We have made a national commitment, and the responsible people of this country must see it through. The Supreme Court has justly ruled, the President has called for fulfillment, and the Congress of the United States has proclaimed a law! It can no longer

be put aside, nor brushed under a rug. If we should now fail in the demand that history has placed upon us, there is something that could happen to the soul of this country which would far surpass in importance any of the practical considerations, whether domestic or international.

But if we are to face up to our responsibilities, we must acknowledge two hard facts about the task before us. Each leads us again to recognize the need for a concerted national effort and commitment on this matter. One is the natural human resistance to any kind of serious cultural change. This resistance will not be overcome unless we recognize it for what it is, and consciously work at overcoming it. The other is the active, insidious campaign of hate and the political action working to oppose the newly won laws of desegregation and to preserve segregation in America.

The depravity of the expanding hate campaign in this country is frightening. This hate campaign is based upon the perpetuation of racism and segregation, and all of their treacherous myths. It is widespread, corrosive, and completely contradictory to our country's basic tenents and to our educational system. It is widening the gulf between the races. It is sowing discord, breeding myths and misunderstanding, and creating a fertile ground for what will be an inevitable harvest of violence.

It is a deliberate plan to play upon people's fears and anxieties. We see evidence of this campaign every day in my office: the printed racist literature, only sometimes subtle, and the various letters of hate which it profusely spawns.

At the risk of shocking some of you, I wish to read some excerpts from a letter—one of many—we have received in the Office of Education:

> The Niggers are Raping, Robbing, Murdering us white people . . . Dope fiends, drunkards most of them lazy, shiftless, dirty bodies-homes-streets, the dirtiest of all is their tongue . . . They kicked our American flag here, and now, are out to break the white man's will so that they can get a few dozen of their Black bastards in a private place so that the white man's money can support them . . .
>
> Here I have outlined for you our American Nigger, I want to give you most of his background first, before I go into details about my purpose for writing to you, this is the way, I start most of my letters when I write to a Nigger, jew, court, congressman . . . We need some new laws for the white man, and we will have to get them, its bad enough that we are now Federalized, and no longer a free people, our way of living has been taken away, we no longer can live with our own white people, we must learn, worship, work, swim, ride, eat, live with the Niggers no matter

> how bad some of them are, now the Nigger is even permitted to remove our children from their schools—by pressure. . . .

And so it goes for five closely typewritten pages and is signed—so help me—"True American."

This, Ladies and Gentlemen, came not from the much-maligned South. It came from the City of Brotherly Love, home of the Constitution and the Liberty Bell. And we have many more. Some are postmarked not too far from where we sit. These letters generally reflect the teachings of racist literature including the pseudo-scientific and anthropological findings disputed by virtually all the eminent practitioners in those fields.

Many people are unaware of the spread of this kind of poison. Such venom feeds upon itself, and, if not checked, can destroy us. It is hard to believe that in this land such stuff could gain currency, and yet these are deeply emotional matters, and the propagandists have found that it is not hard to play on people's fears and anxieties.

Somewhat more respectable—and therefore, perhaps, even more dangerous—is the mounting crescendo of political pressure to thwart the newly won laws on desegregation, although it is, perhaps, less alarming when it is remembered that this is, after all, an election year! But the movement is not to be discounted. The resistance to the enforcement of federal laws on desegregation is stronger than at any time since the benighted effort at "massive resistance" after the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Those who want to preserve segregation in America are hard at work, and while they may be a minority, their activities, their political power, and the weaknesses within all of us upon which they can play, make it clear that powerful, conscious efforts must be mobilized against them if they are to be thwarted in carrying out their insidious purposes.

Ladies and Gentlemen, what all this adds up to is the fact that the desegregation of American society is an awesome undertaking. We are trying to bring about a cultural change in ourselves that far surpasses any other effort that I know of in human societies of the past. This change may be—or rather is—of the utmost importance, both domestically and for the future of our relationships with the rest of the world. But this change will not carry itself out. Every American, every level of society and government, every institution in the land must assume the responsibility for carrying it out. There must be a recognition of the need for this kind of national effort, and there must be a national commitment to undertake this effort.

As President Johnson said in his civil rights message to Congress earlier this month:

> Yet no amount of legislation, no degree of commitment on the part of the National Government, can by itself bring equal oppor-

tunity and achievement to Negro Americans. It must be joined by a massive effort on the part of the state and local governments, of industry, and of all citizens, white or Negro.

Of all the various institutions in our society which must play a part in this national effort, the most important is our public educational system. Those of us in education have a key role to play in at least three major functions that must be performed if our nation is to succeed in overcoming its old racial habits of segregation and discrimination.

The most obvious of these, of course, is to do the very best possible job of education with every single child delivered into our hands. This point is not controversial, but it is also a very long way from being carried out. This country has the affluence and the technology so that if we had the will to do it, and started early enough, we could educate virtually everyone to the level now reached by the students coming from our most privileged school system. In years past, this goal might have been merely utopian, and perhaps would have been at variance with the employment opportunities of the day. But today such a goal must no longer be thought of as utopian; it must be thought of as a social and economic necessity, and we must not rest until we have achieved it.

But neither must we rest with the perhaps comfortable assumption that the continued improvement of instruction is our only responsibility. There are two other critical functions that the schools must perform in the effort to end racial discrimination.

The first is to help promote a better understanding of the problem. If we are to solve this problem in the American way—through local action and the assumption of responsibility at all levels of our society—then there must be a great deal more public understanding of the problem that confronts us than there is at present. Most of the discussion of our race problems consist of nothing but prejudice and emotionalism. And this is true on both sides of the issue. The problems are not easy nor are the solutions. Emotionalism, even on the right side of the issue, will in the end not be much help. What is needed is a good deal more clearheaded discussion of the problems, more understanding of the historical and social origins of segregation in America, more effort on the part of all of us to understand objectively what our sickness is, so that we can better set about curing ourselves. And in all of this, educators can play a key role. In our communities we can try to inject reason, objectivity, and intelligence into a situation that has increasingly been taken over by hotheads. In our classrooms we can try to do a better job of teaching citizenship and compassion, as well as skills of mathematics and writing. For what good are the skills of reading or writing if it leads to letters like the one I read from the "True American"? Our educational system, obviously, did not reach this man, and, unfortunately, too many others like him. We must teach citizenship and

concern for others not only because they are good in themselves. We must teach these things because we need them for national survival.

But even citizenship and constructive community discussion will not be enough if we fail to live up to one other major responsibility—namely, to make sure that we practice what we are trying to preach by bending every effort to rid schools of the racial segregation which still prevails in all parts of our country. Every day that we maintain segregated schools—whether intentionally or unintentionally—we are teaching segregation as surely as if it were a formal part of the curriculum. We can't avoid responsibility for the effect our schools have upon children, whether or not we intended that effect. The fact that the segregation in a particular school may have been caused by a state legislature 70 years ago, or by discriminatory housing 20 years ago, or by unscrupulous real estate operators who "block-busted" the area last year, in no way changes the fact that it is our schools today for which we are responsible today—which are helping to perpetuate segregation in America and which are teaching the next generation that segregation is to be expected as part of the American way of life.

Many schoolmen deny that they have a responsibility to cure segregation. They argue that the schools have enough burdens already without placing this extra one upon them. This is an artful argument. Before thinking, one tends to accept it, like so many other facile formulas designed to comfort us when we find our responsibilities hard to face.

But how easily this argument overlooks reality! Its misleading plausibility obscures the all-important fact that our public school system has been used in the past, and is *still* being used, as a major vehicle for "social engineering" of the opposite type—namely, to perpetuate a caste system in America. Those who first established segregated schools had no doubts about what they were doing. These steps were taken for social reasons and to carry out a particular social philosophy. To rid our schools of segregation is not to take on an extra social purpose but to eliminate from our schools a social purpose it has in the past been carrying out, and a purpose which we must now recognize has no place in America.

It is true that the situation in our Northern schools is different in this regard from the Southern situation. Very little of the segregation now prevailing in the North is directly traceable to the official policies of segregation established in many Northern states before the Civil War. It came instead with the large migration of Negro population to the large cities since 1900. Even after the turn of the century, more than two-thirds of the American Negroes lived not only in the South, but in rural areas where they had been oppressed by slavery and segregation for over 200 years. As they migrated, in the first four decades, to urban areas and into the North, they did so with hope and expec-

tation for the future of their children. But they brought their heritage with them.

Still afflicted by the effects of over 200 years, they clung together in ghettos—forced to do so, partly by overt discrimination, and partly by the more subtle effects of past discrimination. They brought their "separateness" with them. The effectiveness of the social engineering of the past was still strong, and the Northern cities helped perpetuate it with real estate covenants and all kinds of economic and social pressures which have no standing in law, but which operate as effectively as legal segregation ever did in the South.

Americans with power and influence have been able to close their eyes to educational inequalities by moving to the suburbs and providing only for their own children. They have rationalized this with the thought that nothing can be done with the problems of city slums or the schools slum children attend—that the real estate practices which create and maintain slums are an inevitable part of life and nothing can be done about them. As educators and people interested in education, we cannot accept this defeatism. As with quality education, we cannot rest until we have found the way to end the blight of segregation.

To some degree legislation may help. But I think we must face the fact that legislation is not likely to do more than scratch the surface of the problem. This is particularly true of "segregation, Northern style," where, as Commissioner Howe has pointed out, "lie quicksands of legal interpretation." Certain types of discrimination in Northern schools are now reachable by legal process and others may become so as the law develops more sophistication in dealing with the various ways in which people oppress other people. But laws are not likely to get at the heart of the problem, and they never will be a substitute for local responsibility and strong and imaginative local action.

Northern school people must face the fact that segregation—Northern style—is a vicious circle, just as severe, in many ways perhaps more harmful, than that of the South because it is subtle and elusive.

We will have to be more imaginative in fighting the disease, and we will have to become more concerned with the other social forces which help to keep our schools segregated and inferior. Schoolmen, for instance, should be in the lead regarding fair housing and equal employment. They must help to change these and any other "local custom" which hampers desegregation. They must help overcome these obstacles, instead of using them as an excuse.

Richard Dilworth, former mayor of Philadelphia and now president of the city's new school board, maintains that 40 percent of the city's school children are now enrolled in parochial and private schools, and that there are more white children in these schools than in Phila-

delphia's entire public school system. He predicts that in 20 to 25 years all big city public schools may have almost entirely non-white enrollments, and the parochial and private schools will be at least 90 percent white. His point, of course, is that this is the opposite of the desegregation proclaimed by law, and a move away from the direction of equal educational opportunities. This is another kind of dual school system. It would build in the inequalities we now seek to erase, and would assure a further widening in the gulf between the races.

Mr. Dilworth challenges the American educators to begin to re-think the way we manage our schools. He calls for enlightened and courageous leadership at the school board level. And he reaffirms faith in the ability of public schools to provide the kind of education for children of all races that is necessary to move the nation forward as an inspired leader in the modern world.

The question remains: Will the Northern schoolmen and their communities make the commitment? Will they, as President Johnson asked, "put the American dream to work in meeting the demands of a new day?" Will they start once again where men who would improve their society have always known they must begin—with an educational system restudied, reinforced, and revitalized?

I will close with a story that took place not far from here, at a crowded board of education meeting which culminated weeks of controversial hearings and community discussions about a proposal to bus 75 ghetto Negro children into under-utilized suburban schools.

Sitting in the audience, a Negro mother of five heard one white, prosperous suburbanite storm, "You'll bring in a group that has not come up to this social standard. They'll feel as freaks, whereas in their own environment, they'll feel very self-assured." Another white adult objected to the outside youngsters as "not the higher element." And still another white woman dissented, saying "the educated Negro is not my complaint; the one I complain about is the uneducated one who cries NAACP until I hear it ringing in my ears."

A hush fell over the meeting room as the Negro mother rose to her feet.

She said, "Look beyond the blackness of my skin, and you will find there the same concern for my children as you have." Her voice wavered unsteadily as she told them that the 75 Negro youngsters who wanted to go to their suburban schools wanted and needed the best education, and that if the suburban communities voted not to accept them, their hopes would fade into disillusion at the lost opportunity. Her voice lowered to the hushed audience, she finished by saying, "We must prepare your children and mine to cope with life as it will be. We live in a white society. You have a chance to reshape the lives of 75 children. I urge you to accept this rare opportunity."

'We Must Have a Perspective'

Address By

BAYARD RUSTIN

Executive Director, A. Philip Randolph Institute

I AM NOT an educator and do not choose to pass myself off as one. I perhaps know very little about the school system really. I accepted the invitation to address you simply because I believe we have to think of the school system as a numerator and of the nature of what it should be as the social denominator out of which any intelligent approach to the schools must spring. Therefore, I come here as one deeply concerned about social engineering, since that term has already been used.

Mr. Rustin

I'll continue that I think we must have a perspective and see that what we are always talking about as civil rights is, in fact, never quite so simple. The fact of the matter is that the reason a great deal of attention has been given to the Negro in the past 20 years is not because the Negro has fundamentally challenged America *only* about segregation, but for a much more profound reason—that the world is in revolt and the United States is in the process of a revolution which it refuses to recognize. The fact of the matter is that all the nice things which the former speaker has been talking about as being American are, many of them, profoundly un-American. We cannot accept all this. We must first and profoundly be honest with ourselves.

The Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence which preceded it were not wholly noble documents. They may have been enlightened ones, but the words "all men are created equal" written by slave-holders obviously meant " all *white* men are equal." That is the basic problem which we have faced from the beginning. The seeds whose fruits we face now were sown at the beginning. The Constitution was even worse than the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration of Independence was merely a document of men who wrote down something they believed, but the Constitution was worse because it put the error of the Declaration of Independence into law—into an institution of this nation.

Now what is significant is that the struggle of the American Negro has thrown this country into basic revolution of a peaceful nature, for we are not any longer, when we talk about public education, or jobs, or housing, talking about "Negro" problems. We are talking about America's basic contradictions—which happen most grievously to affect the Negro. There are three times as many poor whites in this country, but since they are unorganized and backward politically and socially, and therefore not visible, we catapult what is America's total burden for social change into a racial problem.

That is what is basically wrong! That is to say, if the things that the former speaker talked about are to be accommodated to for the Negro, then this social, political, and economic order cannot remain the same. The Negro will get these rights to the degree that we are prepared to make fundamental basic changes, and I want to cite a couple of examples before I am misunderstood.

When the immigrants, white immigrants from Eastern Europe, came —Jews and Poles and Hungarians and others—nobody heard any talk about Headstart for them. Why? We must answer the question. Why? Nobody talked about Job Corps for these immigrants. Why? No one talked specifically about training them. Why? We ought to have talked about training, because they were far worse off when they came than anybody out of Mississippi or Georgia or Alabama today, no matter how black he is. They didn't speak the language. They didn't know anything about the culture into which they had come. Consider the rude potato pickers from Ireland and the ignorami from England who came. Crude and peasants though they were, nobody talked about these things. Now we must, first of all, ask ourselves why nobody did, because until we understand this, we cannot really claim to be honest.

You know, I hate dishonesty, and nobody is more capable of dishonesty than educators, because they are very often products of those schools which were designed as social lies, as a former speaker said less crudely. I am sick and tired of my Jewish friends and my Irish friends and my Italian friends talking about how they "made it" without legislation, without uplift, and all of this. Now I am not, you know, against their telling their children that they made it. Surely Negroes will say this too, when they pass on the mythology that parents must pass off to their children, but this mythology is not necessarily helpful as a means of understanding the nature of social change.

White immigrants made it—and we must see this clearly—fundamentally because this society gave them four essential underpinnings which are denied Negroes, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites today.

First, they made it not because they were especially bright or smart, but because they had only to cross the Alleghenies to get free land.

That is a socially determinable factor which had nothing to do with their character.

Secondly, they made it because the trade union movement in the period was burgeoning, opening up, taking more people into it. I hate to remind my Jewish friends, but I must, that many of them got from the Lower East Side to West End Avenue in New York, *not* because Jews had good family life as against Negroes who don't, or because Jews are brilliant and Negroes really don't like to study, or because Jews manipulate money well and Negroes really never had the experience. No, they made it to West End Avenue because the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and other agencies were opening things up, bringing them economically into the society. I will tell you later what all this has to do with education.

Thirdly, they made it because we had an economy which was opening up in terms of the use of masses of people. And fourthly, they made it because the society was prepared to buy muscle power.

I repeat, lest it not be clear what I am driving at, that no Negro out of Mississippi today could be half as bad off to make it in a society, leaving prejudice aside, as the average Eastern-European, crude, uneducated, illiterate immigrant.

I reverse this. In Germany today they are bringing in from 12 European nations illiterates—Sicilians who cannot read or write, Italians and Turks who cannot read or write their own language—and in six months, Germany is turning these people into semi-skilled workers without Headstart, without special training, without anything. And the parallel is very simple in our history. During the war we did not talk about Headstart, education, job corps. We simply went out, picked up blacks and whites from Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and North Carolina, put them into the factories making airplanes, and a miracle occurred. In three months, they were making planes which actually took off the ground.

Now, I think that this could teach us something. The point I am making is that we—President Johnson and the Congress and the educators of this country—are not in fact committed to make education a priority. My friends, if you want to make a war for decent education, you act in the way that you act when there is a war in Korea, or Vietnam, or against Hitler. You say it is the most important thing to *do* this, and therefore you do not debate how much it is going to cost. No *war* against poverty and for education will ever debate how much No one talks much about individual freedom in war time. What you do is to conscript because there is a commitment to save the nation. Nobody talks much about the feelings of people in war time. You tell the people, "Don't eat sugar on Tuesday, don't eat meat on Friday."

Now unless we have something of this commitment in this war to educate the American people, we will go on dilly-dallying and talking nice phrases and meaninglessly getting deeper and deeper into a morass.

Since 1954, when that great decision took place, my dear friends, there are more Negroes unemployed, twice as many; since 1954, the slums are bigger, with more rats, more roaches, and more despair in them than before; and the tragedy is that there are hundreds of thousands more Negro youngsters in segregated classes than there were in 1954.

I do not blame *all* of this on prejudice and discrimination. I blame it on the fact that this nation is not prepared to revolutionize, to put adequate funds into it. And the white children of this nation have become the fall guys—and I repeat this, the white children of this nation have become the patsies and the fall guys—for the prejudiced people who do not want to educate Negroes properly. They are prepared now that white children shall stay in these nasty little things that we describe as neighborhood schools. The neighborhood school is finished; it is done, and if it is not done, it ought to be buried alive.

The fact is, my dear friends, that we will get out of this revolutionary situation only with revolutionary activity. The most dangerous thing that can occur in any society is to recognize that you are in a revolutionary situation and then come up with counter-revolutionary *status quo* proposals. Bus six here, and let's go to the suburbs, and let's see if they'll take a half-dozen children over there, and let us see if the Negro parents . . . But wait a minute, you say. Let's really find out whether the Negro parents are in favor of busing. But of course they are not. Why the hell should they take another burden on after 250 years? But we are so happy now that they are not, because now we can be against busing. Or we'll come up with a proposition to let the people choose. In the year 1966, the people can choose jolly little.

In the year 1966, it is *not* segregation which is the problem in the cities. It is that you cannot take a system which Thomas Jefferson thought up about cities, counties, and states, and make it work in the year 1966. It will not *work*. Mr. Lindsey is a victim of this. The transportation system cannot be settled by the five boroughs of New York City, so Mr. Lindsey comes through with absolutely charmingly stupid proposals: "Let us charge those who vote for me 15 cents on the subways, and charge those who commute from Connecticut and New Jersey $2.50 on the bridges and tunnels, and make it work." No, that will not work either.

The fact of the matter is that Conecticut, parts of New York and parts of New Jersey defy the concept of government by city, county, and state. We must have new units of government which are commensurate with the objective regional problems which we face. Can any-

one figure out how to deal with air pollution by cities or states, or water problems by cities or states? What is *wrong* with the city that the city can deal with? The answer is *nothing*. There is not a city which has the money to deal with slums and redevelopment. There is not a city that can pay for its education. There is not a city which can afford to give you even a proposal as to what should be really done with education. There is not a city which can afford to modernize and provide housing. But before I propose what I think, let me go back.

Why did I go into the bit about the immigrants? I went into it because I wanted educators to feel that where society is prepared to let the uneducated, the backward, the culturally deprived, and all of those other words we use which only mean "poor," to make it, they will. Where the poor in this country made it, they made it with limited education because the society was prepared to let them sell their muscle power, accumulate some money, invest it, lift their families, and ultimately deal with all the problems of the family. They did this for a simple reason, not for anything the Moynihan report has implied. The "Italians" dropped their "stillettos" or gave up being "gangsters" or gave up living in a "hovel," and the Irish lost their "belligerency" and were no longer "shanty," for the same reason and the only reason the Negro is going to do away the problems which obviously are exaggerated for the Negro family: When and if the head of the family is permitted to work with dignity to become independent economically.

Now the problem that you educators face is terrifying, not because some of today's poor are black or Puerto Rican. It is terrifying because the society will no longer permit you to give them a gradual education making it possible for them to learn a little and make a living. They must now have the equivalent of a high school diploma, given automation and cybernation, to make it at all. That is the basic educational problem. And therefore the school system has now to be designed not only that men shall work, but it has to be designed in terms of a redefinition of work which will make it possible for men to be noble even now.

Now this is why I think there is only one answer to this business, and that is to get away from all the gimmicks and face that which deals simultaneously with education, housing, automation, the economic situation, and work. People always put it backwards. They say, "You know, we really can't do much until we do something amout housing." Now I want to make it clear that I think we must work on housing, schools, jobs, and everything together as metropolitan region problems. But, educators, the simplest place to break in is in education.

I do not think we can effectively break in by tinkering with existing institutions. We must develop new concepts which deal creatively with the complex of existing problems. Educational parks which would bring together students of all ages from large regions for the varied

and stimulating education needed today are an example of such a concept.

If we really dedicated ourselves to developing educational parks, the moment we took the job of building a single park, we would have opened up the possibility of truly dealing with housing problems, because we could take the old areas no longer needed for the neighborhood schools and dedicate them to extremely good housing at really bargain rates which would bring a great variety of people into the neighborhoods.

Now the High School of Music and Art in the middle of Harlem is a very interesting institution and needs to have a word said about it. It s a most unusual public school. Jewish mothers, Negro mothers, every imaginable kind of mother and father, help their children to lie and cheat, do anything, to get into it—right in the middle of Harlem. Why? Because, rightly or wrongly, they think it is a superior institution, and therefore, they go.

Similarly, when I was a youngster, rather than hearing talk about how horrible it is to transport children to schools in buses, busing had become very fashionable in the little town outside of Philadelphia where I went to school for a few years. Instead of having to attend a school with five rooms and three teachers, people felt (and my parents felt) it was very fashionable, sensible, and worthwhile for their children to go to school where they had an athletic director, where they had music teachers and art teachers, and where the curriculum was greatly improved. If I haven't forgotten, I think they were called "consolidated" schools. It was very fashionable to bus children to them.

White parents who fight the school system in desegregation situations must be understood. Fundamentally, I'm not talking about the bigots. The guy whose letter we heard read by David Seeley is always there. He comes to the surface in times of Vietnam, just as McCarthy could not have flourished had it not been for the cold war. Thousands of McCarthy's are always down there waiting for the opportunity for us to create a stupid society which gives them the opportunity to flourish. The point I'm trying to make, my friends, is this: The educational park must be seen in light of the real power elements which fight it.

Now, let's see who the people are in Parents and Taxpayers of New York, in the Birch Society where the intellectuals verbalize the argument, knowing that they are economically removed so that they will never have to face the reality. Those who oppose are people who only yesterday were poor themselves, who now think that they are not poor, but who are exceedingly poor now. That is to say that by the time the husband gets the check it is already accounted for and there is very little to go into the bank. They have two cars—one for the wife

who must care for the children, and one for the husband who is harassed at working a little distance from home—and, therefore, they have two cars. They never had a college education, and, therefore, they want to educate the nasty little images of themselves so that in their own minds their children will not be nasty little images of themselves. Remember, we are speaking in their terms, not mine. They are probably immigrants of the latter breed who came, not British, perhaps, but from Ireland, Italy, and such places.

No, these are frightened little people who own a house worth $20,000 on which they have paid only about $12,000. When they dread the Negro family coming to their neighborhood, they are not motivated by prejudice as such; they are making judgment on an economic order which needs to be changed. They are part of a revolutionary process, but they don't know how they got where they are. For them, if that Negro family comes in and rents go down, the whole jig is up. In the same way, if the husband gets sick for six months, the jig is up. The money in the bank that they have for the children's education will be needed for something else.

What I'm trying to propose, my friend's, is that unless we are prepared to make it possible for this total society to be relieved of some of the economic burden and psychological problems which the whole society has, and unless we are prepared to come through, not only with the school system we really need but with a concept of the necessity for change, and if we do not wish to see total guerrilla warfare with Negroes and whites fighting each other in the next five years for the jobs which now exist, then we must come out and say we are for full and fair employment for all; we are for the redefinition of work to make it possible for the poor to be employed; we are for public works, not only for the building of decent institutions, but also for human services to humans, under re-defined work; we are for planning in the economy to make it possible for these scared parents and taxpayers not to be so frightened; we are for putting the $15 billion we are now putting into relief into socially constructive institutions.

Now, therefore, it seems to me that the educational park must be looked upon as a part of, an integral part of, the whole doctrine of re-evaluating the assumptions of this nation.

Are you aware, my friends, that this United States of ours is the only so-called civilized Western nation which now has on relief people in the third generation, people whose parents and grandparents are now also on relief? That is not possible in England or France or Germany or any other so-called European country. It certainly is not true in Africa or Asia. What gives? Part of the problem, I think, is that we must see the educational problem as a part of the long-winding process of change.

Let me conclude by pointing out again that any effort to be less radical than the educational park will throw us into a deeper hole. My grandmother used to say to me, "Do not make excuses and argue if you are on the wrong road; the longer you travel, the worse trouble you are in." And she had another one, which was: "If you do not know where you are going, any road will take you there."

The reason the educational park is valid is that it recognizes and can be tied into the housing and job programs and into the reorganization of metropolitan areas. The educational park could be so constructed as really to give teachers time to teach by taking thousands of people off relief rolls and making them assistant teachers. Mr. Rockefeller and the rich of this country are perhaps the only people who know that the uneducated Negro woman from Mississippi or Alabama has some of the most profound skills to be found in this society, though she may not be able to read or write. Mr. Rockefeller and the aristocrats were reared partially by such women. Black women, like many who are now on relief, were the types who reared these men, because they had the highest skills—love and affection and the ability to work with children. Why do we not take these people off relief, put them into educational parks to do all the baby sitting, toileteering, and all the other things that teachers in New York City do so that they scarcely know what reading, writing, and arithmetic are, any more?

The educational park is valid because the areas which are given up by neighborhood schools can be utilized for excellent new housing. It can be a cumulative process, an integral part of the whole needed social change. It can become the center whereby the unemployed who have skills which are not being used can again contribute to society. In New York City, Local #8802, the musicians' union, has hundreds and hundreds of white and black musicians who work maybe, 12, 15 weeks a year. If we had great educational parks, these parks could be used in evenings and summers to employ these people with useful work for the community in music, and art, and drama.

I think there is no greater possibility for the development of a new look in metropolitan centers than through education and through the educational park, because, my friends, when in a central city you have institutions such as educational parks which are far superior to whatever is found elsewhere, the people who have gotten to the suburbs now and have only found out that you have all of today's problems there, and that the taxes are going to get higher there for an inferior education, maybe some of these people will run back into the cities. Maybe by that time we will see that the only way to deal with any of our problems is in metropolitan units.

For these reasons, I urge that this conference sincerely examine educational parks, not merely for their great possibilities in new curricula and new approaches, but as *social institutions,* and as a place to begin to face the total nature of the decay of the city.

'The Schools Can't Do It Alone'

Address By

WILLIAM HOROWITZ

Chairman, Connecticut State Board of Education

I WANT TO TAKE this opportunity to personally thank each and everyone of you for giving up the time to come out to discuss, in such a calm and deliberate manner, this complex question we're all so interested in—how to offer both better quality and equality in our public schools.

William Horowitz

It's obvious we're all interested in finding ways of guaranteeing that each child that attends the public schools of Connecticut be given an equal educational opportunity. If we weren't interested, we wouldn't be here. The obvious question, of course, is how best to arrive at this equality of education.

I do want to interject at this point, however, that as much as the schools are doing in this area—and a great deal has already been done, although certainly much more needs to be done—as much as the schools are doing, they can't do it all alone.

All of us recognize that the public schools are only one of many agencies and institutions in every community that must be involved in the national program to eliminate the problems of race and color.

The people have laid a special charge on the schools, one that is testing to the limits the vitality of public education itself and the strength and wisdom of its leaders. The schools are responding.

School boards, superintendents, and those who staff the schools can be counted on to do all in their power to meet and solve these pressing problems. But they cannot do it alone.

The commitment to provide an equal and appropriate opportunity for every child and to eliminate color of skin or family background as a detriment of any child's opportunity is more than just an educational commitment—it is a public one.

What the school teaches, tries to exemplify, and tries to develop in children is effective only to the degree that it represents the shared ideals of the community itself.

Our luncheon speaker today, is a man I consider well qualified to tell what at least one school system—in this case a suburban school system—has done in cooperation with a large urban community to try to solve this pressing problem of equality in the schools.

He is the president of the Board of Education in West Irondequoit, N.Y. This small community, with a student population of only 5,600 youngsters, is one of the wealthier suburbs of Rochester. Last fall it started an experiment which must rate as one of the first of its kind in the country.

West Irondequoit began accepting 24 first grade youngsters from one of Rochester's inner schools. These pupils are bused from the core city to school in the suburbs for their education.

James Littwitz, the West Irondequoit school president, is here today to tell you how that busing plan developed, to cite community reaction to the plan, to tell how the project is working right now, and to talk about the future plans for expanding the program in the Rochester metropolitan area in the years ahead.

A native of New York City, Mr. Littwitz is a graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He earned a bachelor of science degree in chemistry there in 1942. Following his graduation he served three years overseas with the U.S. Army. Since his discharge, he has been associated with Eastman Kodak Company in an executive capacity.

Mr. Littwitz was elected to the West Irondequoit school board in 1957 and re-elected in 1959 and 1963. This is his third term as school board president. He previously served in that capacity in 1960-61 and 1961-62.

Mr. Littwitz is a past president of the Genesee Valley School Boards Institute. He is a member of the professional evaluation committee of the New York State School Boards Association.

He also is president of the M.I.T. Club of Rochester and since 1952 has been a member of the M.I.T. Education Council.

I give you now the president of the Board of Education of West Irondequoit Central School District—James Littwitz.

'Our Program in West Irondequoit'

Address By

JAMES K. LITTWITZ

President, Board of Education,
West Irondequoit Central School District, New York

I AM HONORED to have been asked to participate in this historic conference and to share the program with so many distinguished and knowledgeable people. Let me make my position clear at the outset, though it will soon become quite evident. I am not a professional educator, nor a sociological expert. I have not come down as a Messiah from the wilds of western New York State with the perfect solution. I am a humble citizen serving my community as a school board member, as thousands of others do, genuinely dedicated to providing the best possible educational program and opportunities for our children. I am not here to sell anything, but merely to describe a program which represents a very small example of a cooperative urban-suburban endeavor.

Mr. Littwitz

Ever since the publication of the report, "Schools for Hartford," prepared by the Center for Field Studies of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, we have followed your situation with keen interest. After all, this august body recommended an approach similar to ours, so, naturally, we thought it was a good idea. There has been press coverage in our Rochester papers, and I have tried to keep abreast by following the *New York Times* reports as well as obtaining copies of your Hartford papers. I am, therefore, delighted to be with you and learn all about your situation first hand.

A few comments about West Irondequoit are in order before I talk about our program. The Town of Irondequoit, with a population of about 55,000 people, is a suburb of Rochester, contiguous to the north city line and extending north to Lake Ontario. It is divided into two separate central school districts approximately equal in geographic size and in school population. We are the West Irondequoit School District, which covers an area about three miles wide and five miles long, and has approximately 6,000 public school students.

We have a 4-4-4 grade grouping. Our K-4 students are housed in 11 neighborhood schools; we have three middle schools for grades 5 through 8; and one high school for grades 9 through 12.

The district is about 80-85 percent developed and our last $2.4 million bond issue in 1961 took care of our building requirements through 1975.

We are a typical middle-class suburb, composed of a high percentage of professional people who have given good support to the schools. We have never had a budget defeated since we centralized in 1954. Our 1966-1967 budget, passed on May 4, totals $5.75 million.

We have a seven-member board made up of five men and two women. We have had no serious issues in the past ten years, and we are blessed with a dynamic and progressive professional staff. We even have a merit pay system for our teachers.

In April, 1965, the board announced its policy of Educational Enrichment in Inter-Cultural Relations, which encompassed the following:

> The Board of Education encourages its administrative and teaching staff to develop curriculum materials which contain historical, anthropological, and cultural information regarding the contributions of the Negro and other minority groups. They would encourage programs of exchange visits with the Rochester public schools in areas of mutual interest, such as musical performances, art projects, sports days, drama productions and other such activities. And, in particular, they encourage the development of a program that will permit West Irondequoit School District 3 to serve as a receiving school for pupils currently enrolled in racially imbalanced schools in Rochester.

This policy together with the board's philosophy leading to its adoption, is covered in the April, 1965, newsletter which is in your packet of material. I would just like to call your attention to a few of the significant statements:

> The board believes that the presence in a single school of children from varied racial, cultural, socio-economic and religious backgrounds is an important element in the preparation of young people for active participation in the social and political affairs of our democracy.
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> Recognizing that the racial and cultural makeup of West Irondequoit is generally that of white families with above average economic background, which does not provide the environment and opportunities for such intercultural experiences, the Board of Education of West Irondequoit accepts the obligation to provide for our children opportunities to become better acquainted with the several races and cultures of the greater Rochester community.

Let me summarize the steps leading up to the publication of this policy. In June, 1963, all school boards in New York State received a special message from Dr. James E. Allen, Commissioner of Education, directing local school officials to submit to him by September 1, 1963, a statement with respect to racial imbalance in the schools in their district. For the purpose of his directive, he established that any school with over 50 percent non-white students was racially imbalanced. At the time, with only four Negro students in the entire system of 5,800 students, we had no racial imbalance problem and, hence, our reply to the Commissioner's directive was easy. The purpose of the Commissioner's message was to eliminate, insofar as possible, racially imbalanced schools to insure equal educational opportunities for all students.

During the school year, 1963-64, the board repeatedly returned to a discussion of the question of racial imbalance with a strong feeling that we had racial imbalance in reverse, which educationally, could be equally serious. By the fall of 1964, our thinking had become sufficiently crystallized that we were ready to inquire whether it was legally and financially possible to bring city of Rochester students into the West Irondequoit schools. Preliminary discussions with state officials indicated there were no unsurmountable legal barriers. Meanwhile, the City of Rochester had successfully implemented a voluntary open enrollment plan in which some 800 inner-city elementary youngsters were bused to predominately white schools in the city. The success of this plan catalyzed our activities and we met with city school officials to explore the possibility of becoming a part of this open enrollment program in a limited way. The city officials were enthusiastic about our proposal, and, starting in early 1965, we set to work in earnest to develop a policy which would express our philosophy and which would be educationally sound.

Our chief school administrator had been involved in all discussions right from the start and heartily endorsed the direction of the board's thinking. Principals and other administrators were brought into the discussions in the January-March, 1965, period. A draft of the policy was reviewed with officials of the local PTA groups and area clergymen and they responded with unqualified support. The day before the newsletter was received by all district residents, a meeting of all teachers was held at which the policy was announced and discussed.

In June, 1965, it was agreed to implement the open enrollment portion of the policy by accepting 25 inner-city first-grade students when school opened in the fall of 1965. The professional staff had started to work on an implementation plan immediately upon adoption of the board's policy. This plan, entitled "Focus on Understanding," was issued by the end of June, 1965, and is summarized in the September, 1965, Newsletter, a copy of which is in your packet of material.

What about community reaction? It was both positive and negative, with the opposition soon becoming effectively organized. The opposi-

tion took the board to task on two issues: the fact that the policy was a sociological issue and, therefore, not a matter on which the school board had jurisdiction, and secondly, that the policy had been developed and adopted in "secrecy" and not in open session and, therefore, was not valid. A petition signed by some 4,000 residents demanded that a referendum be held on the issue. On advice of counsel that educational policy was a proper matter for school board action and not subject to referendum, the referendum was denied. The issue was appealed to the Commissioner of Education and oral arguments presented before him in August.

A school board election held in June for one vacancy on the board developed into a contest between one candidate in favor of the policy and one opposed. The candidate opposing the board policy was elected by a 2-to-1 majority.

While the case before the Commissioner was pending, a civil action was brought in State Supreme Court for a permanent injunction to enjoin the board from implementing the policy. A temporary stay order was also requested so that the plan could not be implemented when school opened in September. The stay order was denied just prior to the opening of school. In March, 1966, the Commissioner upheld the board's action and in April the State Supreme Court also upheld the board and denied the permanent injunction.

In September, 1965, 25 inner-city children started first grade in West Irondequoit. They were assigned in groups of two or three in classes in six of our 11 neighborhood schools. The children all came from a single elementary school in the inner city. They were selected by the city school district on the basis of educational competence and emotional stability on the same basis as other youngsters in the city's open enrollment program. All participated on a voluntary basis.

With the assistance of the State Department of Education, the City of Rochester, and the University of Rochester, continuous evaluation is proceeding, as well as the development of a long-range research program. Exploratory data continues to be gathered through observations and reports by teachers and administrators, by means of objective tests and measurement methods, and from school records, such as report cards and attendance records. Modifications to the program will be made on the basis of data obtained. This represents the formal evaluation procedure, which, of course, is still in an embryonic stage.

Now for some comments on the program as seen by the various affected agencies.

The stress right from the start was on maintaining a normal atmosphere in the classroom. The city children were not to receive special attention or preferential treatment. No special publicity attended the opening of school. There was a tendency by some teachers initially to give more attention to the city children, and this wore off in time.

In general, the teachers involved have been quite receptive: the main restraints are relative to class size, transportation, and difficulty with home contacts.

From an educational standpoint, individual differences are no greater than in other first grades, and the teacher learning process has progressed normally.

There has been adverse reaction from the standpoint of "draining off" the more able students. The feed-back from the city parents in the program that West Irondequoit has better schools obviously hurts the pride of a city school teacher. Unfortunately, there are not enough children in the program to alleviate pressures in the sending school which could help overcome the negative feelings.

They volunteered their children to give them a better opportunity, and they feel justified. They are impressed by the better facilities of the suburban school—libraries, smaller buildings, fewer children in the school. They feel they have met with good reception in the community through the PTA, Human Relations Council, and church groups. They support the program and see no negative effects on their children; they want to continue, as well as sending other children in the family. This is even true in the case of a parent of a youngster who may have to repeat the grade.

Reactions by West Irondequoit parents are not so discernible or easy to obtain. Some still question the value of the program from the standpoint of the suburban children. What benefits or changes in behavior should they expect, and how should they be aware of them? Does daily contact improve inter-cultural understanding? Some feel that this may be a worthy educational experiment and will go along with it, but in the final analysis, they want to see definite results; they want proof that the program was worthwhile.

Normal range of abilities is represented by the group. A few are very able, most are average, and a few are below average. They are making progress, both academically and socially. It appears that these children do require additional attention initially to achieve normal social adjustment with the group. At present, acceptance and number of friends is about equal to the other first graders in the class. It is possible that the additional time required for acceptance by their peer group may have had an initial detrimental effect on their academic performance.

The initial natural curiosity and attention have given way to a normal matter-of-fact attitude. Likes and dislikes appear to relate to personality similarities and differences, proximity of seating, academic grouping, etc. Some early tendencies to segregate have disappeared.

The overt and vociferous opposition evident when the plan was announced subsided once the program started and has relatively remained silent throughout the year. In a quiet way, there was support

from various residents and groups. PTA officers and members warmly received parents of city children at meetings and open houses. A Human Relations Council was formed as a result of the controversy which developed over the board policy. They were responsible for the establishment of a Foster Mother Corps to provide emergency transportation for children who become ill or otherwise require assistance during the day. Both PTA and Foster Mother members have invited parents and children from the city to their homes for lunch and other informal activities.

If I can give you an overall capsule summary of our experience to date, I would say: the situation in the classroom is normal, there has been face-to-face interaction with children of different cultural backgrounds, problems have been minor, and the program has not had a disruptive influence on the total district educational program. It is too early to tell, and it may well be very difficult to evaluate, whether there will be any positive effects and reaction which will lead to better understanding.

Let me finally highlight a few points:

- Without a receptive and cooperative city school system, the program would be very difficult.

- Does the program really improve understanding? Only long time research and evaluation approached from a behavioral standpoint will tell us.

- The program brings to the surface a very basic confrontation on opposing philosophies concerning the role of the school. Is it strictly an academic institution? Or does it have a broader role which includes development of concepts which will enable students to be useful citizens and active participants in our democratic society?

- Opposition to any such program will make itself heard loudly and early. This group will try to convince you that they represent the majority viewpoint. Don't give ground under the initial onslaught.

- Change in the present establishment—be it political, social, educational—inevitably initially creates tension, reaction, and division. Religious and racial issues are in a special class because of the additional emotional involvement. Should a school board shrink from involving a community in a serious confrontation with emotional overtones? I would say that as elected public officials charged with the responsibility for the education of children, to attempt to create an unnatural situation by trying to isolate them from one of the most important social revolutions, or to assume that we can, is a serious dereliction of our duty. We must participate in the development of a plan of action which will best meet the needs of the local situation. Our responsibility is inescapable. We must be involved; we must participate; we must provide leadership so as to assure true equality of educational opportunity for all our children.

'Segregated Schools Are Harmful'

Address By

JUNE SHAGALOFF

Education Director, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

I WAS ASKED to summarize the status of litigation in regard to the issue of segregated schools in the North and West. The N.A.A.C.P. is challenging segregated public schools across the country, not only in this state, but also in other states. Regardless of cause, we contend—and we cite the May 17, 1954, decision of the U.S. Supreme Court—that segregated schools in any form are harmful. This, of course, an increased number of educators and school officials across the country have come to recognize.

Miss Shagaloff

Whether we call these schools (politely) racially imbalanced or (impolitely) Jim Crow schools; whether we call them racially concentrated schools or de facto segregated schools; no matter how we call them; regardless of how they came to be that way, as a result of segregated housing, as a result of discriminatory zoning, or through a combination of different factors—segregated public schools in any form are harmful, not only to Negro students, but to white students as well.

An increasing number of state education authorities have recognized the educational harm of segregated schools in the North and West, and they are doing something about it. The states of Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey and California have all adopted—through their state boards of education or their state school superintendents—policies to the effect that racially concentrated schools—regardless of cause—do not serve democratic objectives for either white or Negro children. They have found such schools harmful and are calling on local school officials to adopt plans to correct to the fullest extent possible the existing segregation.

The states of Indiana, Illinois and California have either adopted new legislation or amended school codes, calling on school officials—either permitting or requiring them—to take racial integration into account in redrawing school zone lines in consolidated school districts and in selecting sites for new schools.

We have brought before the state commissioners of education across the country, and in the state and federal courts, cases challenging segregated public schools in the North and in the West.

Let me summarize the status of this complex litigation, briefly. In the cases that have been brought by the N.A.A.C.P. and others thus far, all of the state commissioners of education have upheld the position of the Negro parent, and have directed school officials to put into effect a plan correcting existing racial concentrations of white and Negro students. Thus far, in all the cases that have been decided by the state courts, the courts have either upheld the right of a local school board to desegregate and have upheld the constitutionality of school officials to deliberately take race and color into consideration to end discrimination, or they have stated that it is not only something the courts have permission to do. In one state decision, the court held that the local school board has the obligation to correct racial concentration. The cases that have been filed in the federal court are incomplete. Only four cases have been thus far decided. Two federal court cases have upheld argument of the school board that they should do nothing to correct the fact of segregation; and two federal court cases have upheld the Negro parent who had complained about discrimination and have directed local school boards to formulate and implement a school desegregation plan.

Thus far, the United States Supreme Court has left standing all these existing lower court decisions. The court has not ruled on the merits of this issue so far. What this means is that the N.A.A.C.P. will continue to bring more cases to the federal court. The expectation is that ultimately the Supreme Court will hear a case on its merits and rule in a decision more far-reaching than the May 17, 1954, decision. The point I would like to make is, in addition to the clear rulings of the state commissioners across the country and in the state courts—unclear at the federal court level—an increasing number of educators across the country have recognized that racial concentrations in the schools, regardless of cause, are educationally harmful, not only to Negro children but to white children as well. As many of you know, we are pressing school boards in this state and elsewhere to adopt effective plans of school desegregation. These plans range from rezoning school attendance areas, to the "Princeton" plan, to the reorganization of schools on a 4-4-4 basis—four-year primary schools, four-year intermediate schools, and four-year comprehensive high schools.

There are a dozen different plans of desegregation that have been used effectively by scores of public systems across the country. What is missing, as we repeatedly say, is not the technical know-how, but the commitment to change. We have no illusions that in a city the size of New York it is possible to desegregate every Negro school or every white school. We have never proposed this in New Haven, or Hartford, or Bridgeport, or Stamford, or any of the smaller sized public school

systems where this is an issue. We have never proposed that children be reassigned from one end of the school system to another to achieve a rigid or fixed proportion of white and Negro students in every school. We do insist that school officials have a responsibility to adopt plans to achieve the greatest possible desegregation. Open enrollment or the voluntary transfer plans are the least effective means of desegregation. And I don't think it's an accident that, therefore, they are the most popular plans of school desegregation. They're the least effective, because they don't change the pattern of segregation. They don't change anything. They permit a few parents to exercise their option to send their children to different schools, and when this is the only plan that is used, we've been very critical.

There is no plan of desegregation called "busing." Busing is not a plan of desegregation. School buses are simply a means of pupil transportation. In New Haven, the board of education, I understand, is now considering a site for a new middle school, grades 5 to 8, and there are at least two sites under consideration. In the attendance areas serving either one of these sites, for some of the pupils bus transportation will be necessary, and for other pupils bus transportation will not be necessary. The plan is not one of *busing*, it's a plan of reorganizing the traditional elementary and junior high schools into primary and middle schools. The plan is one of school *reorganization* and not of school busing. I picked up the *Hartford Times* many months ago and saw the headline on the first page of the second section, "Parents Demand Busing." I quickly read it and found that parents in Westport, Conn., wanted more school buses. There is nothing untraditional, there is nothing un-American, unique or revolutionary about the use of school buses in Westport, Connecticut, public schools or in schools elsewhere in the state, but there is no such plan as a busing plan.

I said in the earlier workshop that the neighborhood school concept was a myth, that the neighborhood school concept was not defined by distance or geography, but one defined by color and class. When we talk about the neighborhood, we don't mean a five-block neighborhood, we don't mean a seven-block neighborhood or 12—we talk about the colored neighborhoods, white neighborhoods, the Italian neighborhood, the Jewish neighborhood, the rich neighborhood, the poor neighborhood. That's how the neighborhood is defined in American life. And in the discussions about busing, the concept of the neighborhood school is mixed in to distort the real issue and to camouflage and to maintain the status quo.

The myth of the culturally deprived child, the disadvantaged child, is the most dangerous myth of all. Not all Negro children, not all Puerto Rican children are disadvantaged, and many times in our discussions we forget that.

Dr. John H. Fischer, who is president of Teachers College, Columbia University, has said that the children who are being stigmatized by the term "culturally deprived" are really children who have been, and who are being, educationally deprived in segregated, and usually, grossly unequal schools. Let me make this point very clear. We urge educational programs, especially remedial reading programs, beginning at the lower grades. We urge expansion of whatever educational programs are needed for children who are in fact disadvantaged children and for other children who need special help. We urge initiation and expansion of pre-school programs such as Project Head Start. We urge reassignment of teachers so that qualified teachers are serving in all schools, not only in "better schools." We urge revision of curriculum, the use of integrated text books, reduction in class size, a host of things, to make schools good schools. But this is not a substitute for the elimination, as much as possible, of segregation itself. The U.S. Supreme Court said on May 17 that racial segregation *per se* in public education was discriminatory and therefore unconstitutional.

I said earlier today that if the Southern school board in Savannah or Jacksonville appeared at a community meeting, at a school board meeting, or in court and said, "Here is our program for 1966-67, a compensatory educational program for culturally deprived children," and didn't offer any program to correct segregation, everyone would recognize that as being no more than separate but equal. But when in Bridgeport, New York, Hartford, New Haven, or Chicago, a school board approaches this issue in the same way by saying, "This is what we intend to do—special compensatory programs for culturally deprived, disadvantaged children," and fails to deal with the issue of segregation, it's no more and no less than the same old issue of the separate-but-equal approach.

Let me conclude by criticizing the failure of state educational authorities in your state of Connecticut to provide leadership to local boards of education and to citizen groups and parents on this issue, and by taking issue, very critically, with the statement that Dr. William J. Sanders made some months ago and, to the best of my knowledge, he has not re-stated or changed in any way. Let me read it directly. Dr. Sanders stated that he hoped a rational solution to end the problems attributed to racial imbalance in schools could be reached. However, he said: "Improving the lot of Negroes and other minority groups can be done more effectively by concentrating on improving educational programs rather than by concentrating on solutions to racial imbalance." Our criticism of this position, expressed by the Connecticut N.A.A.C.P. state conference and by the N.A.A.C.P. national office, is that there is no choice to be made between correcting segregation to the fullest extent possible and improving schools. Both are necessary—together. One approach over another is no more than what in the South we call "separate-and-unequal."

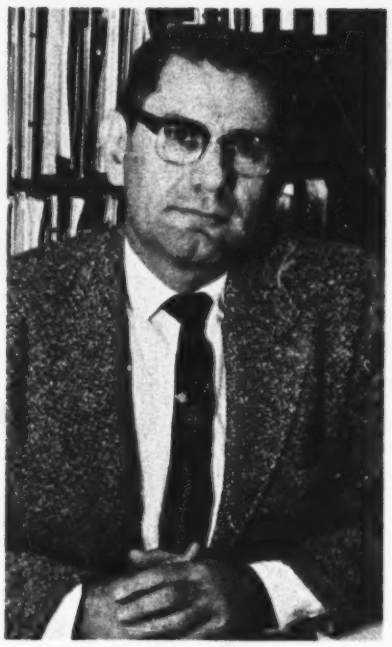
'Connecticut Statutes Are Flexible'

Address By

MAURICE J. ROSS

Chief, Bureau of Research, Statistics and Finance,
Connecticut State Department of Education

MY ASSIGNMENT today is to discuss the various ways in which the provision of equal and equally good education for all children is helped or hindered by Connecticut law. In this brief statement, it is not my purpose to appraise the strengths and weaknesses of various plans, procedure or activities which may be engaged in by the various school districts. Indeed, the arrangements I shall mention need to be the subject of careful research to determine what their strengths and weaknesses may be for various children under varying circumstances in varied environments. Most of the plans are reported to have worked somewhere, not necessarily in Connecticut, for at least a time, and to have helped some children. Let me emphasize that I am not suggesting that these arrangements and activities, singly or in combination, are satisfactory alternatives to open or non-segregated housing or to non-discrimination in employment.



Dr. Ross

To begin with, let me point out that the Connecticut statutes have recognized for the past century that public schools are concerned with quality education on an equal basis for all children. Section 10-15 of the general statutes states that "the public schools shall be open to all children over six years of age without discrimination on account of race or color." The age limitations have varied over the years, and public schools are open to children less than six years of age. The law goes on to say, in Section 10-222: "Boards of education shall maintain in their several towns good public elementary and secondary schools and such other educational activities as in their judgment will best serve the interests of the town; provided any board of education may secure such opportunities in another town in accordance with the provision of the general statutes and shall give all the children of the town as nearly equal advantages as may be practicable . . ."

Note that this statute gives wide latitude to boards of education in making provisions to provide quality educational opportunity, activities,

and services for all. The statutes have a companion provision which ensures that children will be exposed to education and must go to school. Section 10-184 of the statutes places the responsibility for sending children to school on the parents: "All parents and those who have the care of children shall bring them up in some lawful and honest employment and instruct them or cause them to be instructed to reading, writing, spelling, etc." This statute applies to children over seven and under 16 years of age.

Connecticut statutes provide considerable flexibility in allowing local boards of education to make administrative arrangements for providing the equal educational advantages referred to. Section 10-64 of the general statutes permits towns to join together to form a region with one board of education and administration for any combination of grades. There are fiscal advantages to this arrangement in terms of school buildings and school transportation, and additional advantages if the region has programs for vocational agriculture or the mentally handicapped. Regional school buildings receive 25 percent more school building aid than is available to a single district; transportation reimbursement from the state is 50 percent without limit. Public Act 391 of the 1965 General Assembly provides that any two or more towns or any regional district and one or more towns in the district may jointly employ a superintendent of schools and then proceed jointly to employ personnel or otherwise provide such educational programs or services as the boards may determine. This latter act provides no financial incentives except those that come from the more effective utilization of funds, personnel, facilities, and equipment in handling significant educational problems on a multi-district, but not regional, basis.

Now let me focus on some of the specific arrangements which have been provided for providing good education for those children who have been variously described as culturally disadvantaged, culturally estranged, culturally different, or educationally deprived.

1. Busing children to a school outside of the immediate neighborhood school is advocated by some as a means of providing quality education for the disadvantaged. This plan is also described as improving quality for the "advantaged" since it brings with it association with children who come from a different environment or background.

Connecticut statutes permit the busing of elementary school children within a town. The state will provide one-half the cost of such transportation up to a maximum of $20 per child per year. The state will share on the same basis for high school transportation within a town. If a town does not operate a secondary school and purchases its secondary education from another town, the state will provide one-half the home-school transportation costs up to a maximum of $35 per child per year. If a town is a member of a regional school district, the state will provide one-half the cost of home-school transportation of children

in the regional district. State transportation aid is not available as such for transportation between cooperating independent districts. However, if the program is for the disadvantaged, state aid may be available through Public Act 523, "An Act concerning State Aid for the Disadvantaged."

2. Head Start, pre-school or compensatory programs are frequently recommended as actions which can be taken now as an immediate attack on the situation as it exists. Connecticut statutes provide substantial financial encouragement for this type of program. For purposes of state aid, kindergarten and pre-kindergarten programs need be only two ½ hours in length for each child in membership to be counted for state aid. For other programs, the school day must be at least four hours of actual class session. Aid for compensatory programs would be at a minimum of $140 per child per school year of 180 days. If the school year is extended beyond 180 days, additional state aid accrues at the rate of about 78 cents per child per day. In addition, there may be state aid under "State Aid for the Disadvantaged." This general state aid is provided even if the program is financed 100 percent by federal funds, just so long as the program itself in conducted by the board of education and meets the requirements of state law, by which I mean that the program is absolutely free to children, uses properly certified personnel, uses English as the principal medium of instruction, etc.

3. Free summer school programs which constitute either introductions to or continuations of the regular school school year can qualify for state aid if they meet the requirements of state law. Here again, the rate is about 78 cents per pupil per two ½ hour day for kindergarten or pre-kindergarten programs, 78 cents per pupil per four-hour day for other grades or about 39 cents per pupil for a day at least two hours but less than four hours in length.

4. Adult education programs can be of great significance in bringing quality education to a community. State aid is provided for these programs at the rate of 12½ cents per clock hour. The state will also pay one-half the salary of an adult education director, or $2,500, whichever is less.

5. Open enrollment is a plan for permitting a child to enroll in any appropriate school in town if there is room for him. This arrangement is allowed if the local board of education specifies it. Section 220 of the general statutes provides that the local board of education "shall determine the number, age and qualifications of the pupils to be admitted into each school and shall designate the schools which shall be attended by the various children within their several towns."

6. Pupil assignment or zoning to secure balanced enrollment and the shifting or redrawing of school attendance boundaries are also powers of the local board of education under the statute just referred to. Let

me stress that in these situations and in others the local board of education has very wide latitude. If local boards use defensible criteria in assigning children to schools, the courts will probably uphold them. In these areas, as in others, boards will probably not be upheld if the courts decide they have arbitrarily misused their discretionary powers.

7. Reorganization of grade groups, the school pairing arrangement, or the Princeton plan, which puts all the children of a certain grade or group of grades of a town or a certain section of town usually along the borders of the ghetto, in one school, and all the children of another grade or group of grades in another school is also possible if the local board decides this is what it wants to do. If major alterations to school buildings are involved in this or any other plan, the state may provide one-third of the cost.

8. The educational park plan which puts all the children of the town into one or more schools on a single site is also possible under Connecticut statutes if the local board of education decides that this is what it wants.

9. Discrimination in employment has since 1947 been prohibited by state law.

10. The local board of education has the ultimate responsibility for textbook selection; it may reject textbooks which are biased (Sec. 10-221).

11. Teacher assignments, within the certification regulations and within whatever local agreements may have been made, are made by the board of education. These assignments should be made in such a manner as to foster quality and equality in education.

Other suggestions which have been made to improve the quality of education for the disadvantaged have to do with such things as the establishment of reading centers to help children in this most critical of school activities, the establishment of tutorial programs on either a volunteer or paid basis, the elimination of competitive marking, the elimination of the graded curriculum and the substitution for it of the ungraded curriculum, the reduction of class load to make it possible for teachers to do the needed work, the provision of in-service training for teachers so that they may operate more effectively, and the provision for pupils to participate freely in room and school-wide activities, curricular and extra-curricular. All of these things are possible under Connecticut statutes; local boards of education are charged with the responsibility for making decisions as to what they want to do or to try.

Some of these activities a board can try without having to seek additional funds. Other activities, procedures or policies would have to be encouraged by other local governmental bodies and/or the citizens in general. These are the activities which call for additional funds;

class-size reduction, tutorial activities, in-service training, and extra transportation are examples. These are local options. Limited state financial assistance may be available through Public Act 523 of the 1965 General Assembly, an "Act Concerning State Aid for the Disadvantaged," for activities such as these when they involve the disadvantaged. But the need to meet increasing costs of quality education as well as of compensatory education may call for the establishment of new tax districts, perhaps the unification of towns for tax purposes.

General state aid increases may also be called for. The local citizens will have to demand this additional aid and be willing to provide the additional tax payments. As the wealthiest state in the nation and one which uses only a modest portion of its wealth for education, we cannot plead financial inability to support education.

In this presentation, I have not stressed the content of instruction, such things as the contribution of Negroes and of many different peoples to art, music, drama, agriculture, literature, or the study of the moral and ethical value involved in discrimination or the civil rights movement, or topics such as installment purchasing, home buying and rental, building and material codes. Nor have I dwelt on the possibilities for cooperation of the local boards of education with other local regional and state governmental and community agencies to improve the climate in which the schools operate. Nor have I dealt with the many provisions of federal statutes under which local communities and/or local boards of education may act to improve educational quality and educational climate for the disadvantaged.

I have tried to fulfill my assignment by stressing those activities which may be carried out by local boards of education and the extent to which Connecticut statutes encourage or hinder those activities. Local boards of education, alone, or on a joint basis, or on a regional basis, can undertake many activities to provide quality and equality in education. In some of these activities there is financial assistance from the state. The permissiveness of the statutes may raise problems and cause difficulties. The relationships between the local, state and federal governments become the subject of controversy. However, these governments are governments formed by people. And people, under laws of their own making, make decisions. The question is not really, "What *can* we do?" but, "What do we *want* to do to provide quality and equality in education?"

'The Acid Test of a School System'

Address By

DAN W. DODSON

Director, Center for Human Relations and Community Relations, New York University

I WILL TALK just a few minutes because I think you want to have time to bring out the issues that are bothering you. It is hard to know where to take hold, because the issue is so large. Let me make a few generalizations without a great amount of support, and then the panel first can shield you from any error I make, and then you can come back at me later.

Dr. Dodson

From the observations that I have been able to make during these years, I think one of the things we need to realize is that these problems are here to stay and they are not going away, and the biggest issue we face is how to deal with them while they are still manageable, rather than let them get out of proportion. I find that school boards tend to stave off as long as they possibly can when dealing with the issues, until the time comes when they are forced to deal with them. They are then at a point at which it is very hard to attempt solutions.

It is also very interesting that so many of the big crises in our metropolitan areas have tended to come at the time of retirement of an old superintendent who had long tenure. This was the case in three of four school systems with which I have worked. It is very easy to have a superintendent who stands out a long time and who has kept the lid on for the board of education. He is the gatekeeper who shields them from coming to grips with their problems until the time he comes to retirement. At that time, in some way or another, the thing explodes. And then you are headed for trouble, and you hire consultants to help you find the way out. But the issues are not going away. They are going to grow in magnitude in the years at hand. The wise school board will be one that is on top of it, and begins work at the time when the issues are still manageable and can be worked with.

We must recognize, secondly, the responsibility which, I think, is evolving for boards of education now, which ought to be a sobering

responsibility to them, which relates to the way in which they come into being and to the people to whom they are beholden. I think I could make a pretty good case that elected school boards in our era are probably the most undemocratic institutions in the community when it comes to dealing with this problem. The issue on which they are beholden is the single issue of education, and consequently the minority group cannot use their log-rolling leverage in other areas of political life to get leverage on the boards of education themselves. In other words, in appointed school board situations, the minority can say to the politicians, "If you boys want us to play with you, you have got to play ball with us." But if the school board is elected and is impervious to this kind of log rolling, then it is power meets power, a "majority rules" kind of situation.

I would suggest that you look at the difference between New Haven and Bridgeport, for instance, on this score. Bridgeport has over 35 percent Negro children in public schools and not a single member of the board of education who is a Negro. New Haven has, I don't know what percent, and, I don't know how many Negro members of the board of education, but it does have some on the board. *That* I know. And it is much more politically sensitive, to the extent that it was attempted on a referendum to move back to an elected school board, because the pressure that the board was exerting on desegregation was such that, if they got back to an elected school board, it would get the heat off them about the pressures from the political leverage that the Negro community was able to generate. I think this places a very sobering responsibility on the board of education as to how it handles itself. If it is responsible to all the people and if it is an elected school board, how does it handle a problem of this sort? How does it meet its stewardship to the total community?

A third kind of thing that I would like very quickly to make reference to is the issue of a statement of public policy and implementation of it. I realize very well that policy alone will not change the situations in the communities. If it would, we would have it made in New York, because we have made policies galore, but the problem of implementing these policies becomes a different thing. The school system needs to have a clear statement of policy as to where it is going and as to what it is doing. I would like to reinforce what our speaker said at lunch, that most of the controversies tend to come at the point at which the policy is being determined and not at the point at which the policy is being implemented. It is a rare thing that the amount of controversy engendered over the passing of the policy reflects whether the situation is going to be successful or unsuccessful.

Another kind of point that I would like to make in this hurried skipping around here, yonder, and everywhere, is that there is no substitute for what is sneeringly called by the opposition, the "mixing of

the bodies." A lot of superintendents talk loud about how they have got to have content in their education for these children. They have got to have quality education. I would submit to you that none of this is an indication that it is eminently possible that the bodies are going to be mixed, that they are going to have desegregation.

At this point, then, you begin to look at what the problems are that you are dealing with, and what is entailed in quality of education for all children. But the total community will not get under the load of education for the total children of the community unless it is eminently possible that all of the community's children are coming to encounter with each other in common schools. And if you don't believe this, look at those instances or situations in which the desegregation is not begun at the present time.

The poverty program is pretty much an attempt to buy off the revolution, and I think we need to understand the politics of the thing and to understand what is involved here. I would say, by and large, that the encounters ought to be arranged as educational experiences, but in most instances, who goes to school with whom is a political determination. It's whether or not the minority group has leverage enough in the community to require desegregation in the schools, and not whether educators think it is a good idea for kids to be mixed or not mixed. What you heard at lunch today is the exception to this kind of thing, and I will give due credit for it. But I do want to say that, by and large, in the average community, who goes to school with whom is a political matter and is not fundamentally an educational matter. Were it simply an education matter, it would have been solved a good while back. It is not difficult to figure ways to desegregate schools.

The issue is the political issue. Beyond this, I want to come back to the significance of the court decisions in the very beginning and to highlight what I think was said there. I believe that the attempt to distinguish between de facto and de jure segregation is a spurious issue. I don't believe that you can make a case for de facto as against de jure segregation. When the board of education makes a decision as to who is going where, it has made through public policy the determining action that assigns kids to segregated schools or non-segregated schools. Consequently, you talk about de facto segregation as against de jure segregation as a serious issue. And all the evidence we have says that it is as debilitating in the de facto as it is in the de jure. I defy you to show where you have gotten quality performance out of kids that are in a segregated pattern. For this fact of segregation has left this result—the whole culture sees a segregated school as inferior, and this, in fact, makes it so, and you cannot achieve a high quality of education in it.

In New York City, we are spending $137 per child more on our special service schools which are our segregated schools than we are

spending on the others. You can't even get teachers to go in there and teach, to say nothing of the rest of the problems. You must provide special services and all the things that go with it that $137 per child will buy. Only one out of five of the special service schools has as many as two-thirds of the teachers on permanent licenses and another one out of five of them has as few as one-third of the teachers on permanent licenses. You can't even staff them because teachers also draw their sense of self-esteem by the schools to which they are assigned, to the point that we are brought up short on the issue of what is the wisdom of the court's decision and on the problem of dealing with a kind of segregation that is as much a reality in the northern de facto situation as it is in the southern de jure situation. And here in the North it will be harder to solve in the long run.

I do not believe that anything of significance happens in these situations, however, until there are significant encounters between groups, and I believe that in the desegregation process you cannot count on a great amount of difference in the amount of prejudice, hostility and name-calling on the part of any particular group in contrast to any other group. It depends much more on whose ox is gored rather than on what his educational level is or what background he came out of. I wish you would think about that a little in talking about these things, because the amount of hostility and name-calling has been as significant in some presumably educated groups as in the others.

One final thing I would like to say is that the acid test of a good school system, I believe, is whether it can deal with the de facto segregated situation and correct the imbalances. This is important because the segregation problem brings the whole school system to confrontation with every other problem that it highlights, because color provides a visibility. If you have a bad grouping situation, it shows up. If you have a bad public relations policy, it shows up. If you have a lousy teacher, it is going to show her up, as it shows up anything else, because it provides a visibility that cannot be hidden. It brings to the level of school organization the question of what is the validity of the concept of the neighborhood school, not because you are dealing with the few minority groups, but because the limitations of neighborhood schools are apparent in the large urban patterns of living. It took this to smoke it out.

Last of what I want to say is that this obviously brings us to great encounters in the educational fraternity itself. You will want your money back for my participation in New Haven teacher training programs for what I'm now going to say, but I don't believe that significant strides are made by in-service training courses to force teachers to prepare themselves for these things. I don't believe much preparation occurs until the teacher really has to fish or cut bait.

If I were putting my money where I thought it counted most, I would put it at the supervisory level. The place where I have seen it pay off most is where supervisors were able to bear down to require the teachers to teach that they expect the same out of the children who are one color as they expect out of others. They are able to require that the teachers will not bring their prejudices into the classrooms. They will deal with the stereotypes of teachers as they arise. Above all, they will bring them to the awareness of the mythology by which they have been seduced, about the people of different culture and so on. And this is a very significant part of it.

I have a great sense that the school system in the past has been the handmaiden of the power order of the community to provide the gateway in which its children moved into the different status patterns of the community. Now that the school is required, under the pressure of community life, to do a different kind of job, that is to bring those who have been powerless into this same pattern, it finds itself floundering and facing tremendous issues about which it seems helpless to deal. The helplessness stems mainly, I believe, from the fact that the educator in the past understood the power base under which he operated and this power base is now divided and split. He does not know how to handle himself, and he does not know which drummer to be listening to, as these issues come to light.

But one thing that is happening out of it that I thought was so well stated by our luncheon speaker is the fact that all of us need to be brought to this kind of encounter for the sake of education itself, not for just the minority children.

Here is a simple illustration of mythology about those people, whoever they are, that the school system has to deal with. In the middle of the last century those who could not get creativeness out turned to the learned divines to provide the answers as to why some children were not creative. And they came up with the doctrine of infant damnation, because then you did not understand the role of culture and the differences that culture made. By the end of the century, the psychologist had come up with the new and secular version of infant damnation, which was the low IQ. If you pinned a low IQ on him, you did just about the same as if the Good Lord had backhanded him ahead of time, and the only difference might be that maybe his old man did not marry quite the right woman to be a mother or something like this. But, by and large, it was something for which the society itself was not responsible. Very rapidly, we sociologists are coming up with our version of infant damnation, which is a low social class. You look at all this mythology that is created about these people, in quotes, of course, low social class, low IQ, weak ego strengths, lack of father image with which to relate, the inability to forego immediate pleasures for long-range goals, mother domination, and cultural deprivation.

A little man, in our day and age, never makes his full upreach and outreach to selfhood. His first job will be to beat down the mythologists and scholars who created labeling, and then come to realize that the establishment of education is being brought to a confrontation today that is rocking it to its very foundations. But out of it may be coming a new dimension of education, which will do what education was designed to do or was thought of as what we were hoping to accomplish in the years behind us. And that is to bring all of the community's children to a common encounter, to the end that they learn the skills of citizenship that are commensurate to the era in which they live and that would meet whatever needs they have that have to be met, and that would validate the most precious dream we have—that all of them cherish freedom, that all of them have the capacity to participate purposefully in the direction of their destiny, and that there is no limitation on any of them at the level of native potential. There is no limitation on any of them that education can't deal with.

'Desegration vs. Integration'

Address By

A. HARRY PASSOW

Professor, Teachers College, Columbia University

I HAD A SEMINAR this morning, and Mrs. Jessup kindly picked me up in New York, and drove me up from the city, and I just arrived. I was enjoying that cup of coffee, so I'll have to shift gears in a hurry and talk to the charge given me. I'd like to read that to you, because I want you to know just what I'm not going to be able to do in 20 minutes.

Dr. Passow

I was asked to deliver one of the principal statements of Workshop 3, centering on integregation and quality education, the various class groupings in relationship to integration, the preparation of teachers and students and sending receiving schools, texts and materials, and so forth. As I said in the car on my way up, I'll also throw in a one-page version of *War and Peace* at the same time. I think the burden of what I want to say may not take 20 minutes, because obviously I'm not going to be able to give full details!

I don't want to take the time to argue whether or not desegregation is necessary, nor do I want to detail the various alternatives for correcting racial imbalance and providing for desegregation. I picked the term *desegregation* rather specifically, because I am thoroughly convinced that we have, in many school systems, become so concerned with the details and mechanics of the desegregation process that we are not giving adequate attention to what I think are far more complex and complicated problems—integregation and the development of quality education in a particular school system.

My point is that desegregation and integration are two separate processes. One can be accomplished in a way without the other, and if we had more time, perhaps we could explore that particular point, but it is essentially the position I want to take. Therefore, I'm arguing that all aspects of the educational process need to be considered in terms of the barrier or blocks which they contribute to the integration process.

We have a great deal of information which we might apply. I'll speak about the Negro youngsters, since they are the primary minority group in this particular state, I believe. There are consequences for Negro youngsters when they are in a desegregated situation. I'm talking now about the psychological consequences, the kinds of things that Erwin Kotts reports in his review of the research on the psychological impact on the Negro child when put into a desegregated situation. These findings provide leads as to the kinds of modifications of activities we have to undertake in the school itself, in order to reduce the threat that exists, to improve the probability of success, and to focus on the self-image and the self-concept of the child. What I'm suggesting here is that we utilize the research that has already been done to understand what leads to high probability of success by reducing those threats that exist, and which we can predict will exist, in a newly desegregated situation.

I think, at the same time, we have other problems, such as stereotypes which a receiving school has about the children that are coming in. We tend to consider all youngsters who are from minority groups, all youngsters who come from low-income areas and low-income families, in a stereotype fashion as being uniformly poor achievers, academically retarded, slow learners, etc. We apparently are unwilling or unable to understand the vast range of differences which exist within any group of youngsters, whether they come from a low-income situation, or a city-wide situation, or from a particular minority situation. Again, what I'm trying to say here is that we tend as school people, or maybe not as school people but simply as people, to think in terms of stereotypes. I think it is one of the difficulties in the present drive for consideration of the "disadvantaged," as we say.

The term tends to push too many youngsters into a stereotyped role, where we eliminate or don't take account of the vast range of individual differences that do exist. One of the initial helps which, it seems to me, is needed by any school that is planning for school integration is for looking at the various populations to be served and the various populations that will be doing the serving, and asking what the particular roles are, and what the particular skills and competencies, and what new insights and attitudinal changes are needed by those particular populations, and how we can move toward providing them.

For example, we'll take teachers. What particular attitudes do teachers hold toward working with minority group youngsters who are coming in for the first time? Note, I've been stressing minority groups, youngsters coming in for the first time. My experience thus far has been mostly with the movement in the desegregation process. Most of the movement in the racial balance correction has been in terms of moving the minority group children into situations where they usually continue to be a minority group, unless there is a further flight of white youngsters. We have not reversed the process by moving the white children, for example, into

other kinds of school situations, so that the moveemnt tends to be in one direction only. I think that this direction is important and significant in terms of the kinds of planning that we do with our staffs, with the youngsters that are coming in, with their parents, and with the community at large.

I think there are a great many insights that teachers lack in terms of sensitivity training, in terms of being able to assess the lacks that a youngster may have, as well as the strengths that he may have. Therefore, I am suggesting here that we don't simply put youngsters into a classroom situation without a great deal of teacher training that takes a number of dimensions, one being straight out-and-out sensitivity training to understand what gestures, what expressions, and what various kinds of communications can mean, even though they are not intended to mean that, and to be able to understand the important effect the various kinds of verbal, as well as non-verbal, communication may have on the child, whether it is intended or not.

I think we need to provide the teachers with help in terms of the range of experiences and the range of materials that are available for instructional purposes. I think we need to help teachers with an understanding of what an integrated experience really means and what the range of integrated experiences possible can be. I think we need to help teachers to know how to capitalize on teachable moments.

I can't help thinking of an illustration that was told me by a friend who supervises student teachers at John Marshall University in Cleveland. He happened to be supervising a student teacher in Collingwood High School last year when the riot unfolded. They were on the first floor in the front of the building in a classroom when suddenly they heard sounds outside the window, and of course, he and all the students looked out the window to see what was happening. The teacher became quite indignant and began bawling the kids out for paying attention to what was going on. She insisted they pay attention to her, and she went on to teach her lesson on the Ming dynasty.

Now, I have a hunch that the Ming dynasty would have lasted another day or two, and we might have capitalized on the moment to develop an understanding of what was happening outside the window, or at least to explore it. I think this is the Ming dynasty thinking, if you will, in which we deal with the safe and non-controversial instead of helping youngsters to understand thoroughly the big issues and the big problems, as well as the more personal issues and the more personal problems, that can occur in the classroom.

I think we need to look very carefully at the transitional problems that occur when we bring the youngsters into a classroom situation. Experience thus far demonstrates that by and large there will be gaps in the academic achievements of youngsters who are fed in. They have not

achieved at the same level as the youngsters in a more favorable situation, speaking generally now, for there are exceptions, of course. This immediate transitional period when the youngsters have first come into a school situation, it seems to me, is a critical point in which we set the pattern, the particular role, or a particular position into which we relegate these youngsters for quite some time.

I live in Englewood, New Jersey, and I think of an illustration of my own youngest child, who was in the fourth or fifth grade in a classroom situation that always had 18 to 20 percent Negroes in its student population. When the town closed the Lincoln School, it increased the number of Negro youngsters from 18 to 20 percent to something closer to 30 to 35 percent. My point is that my youngsters always had contact with Negro youngsters in the classroom. But the new Negro students were added to the classroom without any preparation and without taking into consideration their progress or lack of progress. They were simply dumped into the classroom, and as a result, my daughter came home suddenly talking about the "dumb Negroes." Now what she was saying was, in effect, that the slower kids had been dumped in without any attempt to provide them with the remedial and compensatory help that was needed. It created for her a stereotype of a "dumb" Negro child, when she had had a large number of contacts with Negro children and had never thought of them in that particular light before.

The illustration may not be a good one, except that I'm saying that we frequently set in the minds of kids certain patterns of thinking and certain stereotypes because we don't take into account the retardation that may exist, the compensatory needs that may exist, in terms of building a program as the youngsters come in to make the adjustments that are needed.

I think a basic issue is the kind of grouping arrangements that are going to take place in a newly desegregated situation in which we have an ability grouping, with the Negro youngsters tending to be in the slower groups, with those groups tending to be totally Negro frequently, and with the white youngsters tending to be in the so-called "more gifted" groups, etc.

I think the issue of ability grouping, or the issue of grouping, or the issue of organization, or however you want to state it, is one of the critical issues in the integration process that we have tended to skirt around. We have argued about the values and the validity of homogeneous versus heterogeneous grouping and have looked at past research. I have been involved in some of that research myself and have written a good deal about ability grouping as it applies to gifted children and non-gifted children. I have become quite convinced that the past research on homogeneous and heterogeneous grouping and the past arguments are completely extraneous to the current situation and completely irrelevant to giving us any leads into the present problems as they exist. Unless

we take a fresh look at the kinds of grouping, or more generally, the kind of general organization of schools, and the kind of flexible arrangements that are needed, the kinds of differentiated education that is needed, rather than continuing in our present pattern, it seems to me what we will be doing is digging ourselves deeper and deeper into a kind of rigid segregated pattern within the classroom situation, within the school situation, that will totally negate any attempts that we make toward desegregation or correcting of racial imbalance.

I think also that there are many aspects that we can talk to here in terms of kinds of in-service training opportunities that are needed. I think that the kinds of opportunities that are needed for working with youngsters in both groups can only come from our understanding the real difference between desegregatnon and integration. I think this is not a matter of semantics but a critical difference in meaning. We have given far too much attention, I think, to the ways of dealing with desegregation and for too little attention to the question of integration as such. I think we need to look at the aspects other than the intellectual or the academic aspects of the integration process. By that, I'm referring to the non-intellectual aspects, such as the attitudes that the youngsters hold, the values they have, the self-image, the self-concepts that they have, all of which don't show up in their reading scores, but which are critical in determining whether or not they are achieving academically. Even more important, how do they perceive themselves as people, and what do they perceive of as their own potential for growth?

A lot more needs to be done in working with parents, in working with the community, in terms of extending insights and looking for opportunities for community involvements in various kinds of community up-grading, as a precursor, if you will, to education up-grading, or as a related aspect of education up-grading.

I take pretty seriously this 20-minute bit, and I see I have already talked more than 20 minutes. So having opened up the topic, I leave it to my good friend, Theron Johnson, to give you the real answers to the problems I've raised.

'Artificial Separations, Artificial Societies'

Address By

THERON JOHNSON

Administrator, Education Practices Act,
Education Department, State of New York

WITH THE LIGHT glaring up here, it makes one feel that one should have a number on his chest and have his fingerprints taken. I think it is intimidating enough to talk on this topic before school board members and educators without accessories.

I, too, have been given a topic to talk on today, There were three things to which I was supposed to address myself. The first was, why do you desegregate schools? I'm going to pass that one, because I think there was plenty said on it this morning. The second was, if there is to be desegregation, how does one go about it? And the third was, when there is desegregation, what is its effect on children?

I will accept Harry Passow's distinction between integration and desegregation, but I must part with him on one point. I think it was probably a misstatement on his part when he said we have put too much attention on desegregation. Well, it's a contradiction in terms. Unless you have desegregation, you can't attend to integration. I believe there's been too darn little attention on this matter of desegregation, or, as I use the term, racial imbalance.

What I would like to do is take just a few moments on this. I shall talk less than 20 minutes, because I think questions and discussion are more profitable than listening to someone.

I'm going to talk about the experience we've had in New York State. You ask the question, we've had the experience—everything from being in an incipient riot in Malverne to anything else. The only difference we found among some of the good folk of Malverne was that their aggression was verbal rather than physical, thank heavens. Except on the car that we were driving!

It is true that New York State has the only state education department I know which has had an active interest—not only an interest but offices that have responsibilities—in this area. It started out as an office that dealt with open admission to colleges and universities in the state. New York was as good as Connecticut and other northeastern states in having religious and other quotas in higher educational institutions after World War II.

From that kind of experience, we found that much more serious elements of unequal educational opportunities existed for citizens of the

state at the lower than collegiate level. They needed tremendous attention, but we were a long time getting going on it in New York State. When I heard today that this was the first meeting of its type in Connecticut, I suggest that maybe you're even a little longer getting at this than we were.

It wasn't until 1960 that our Board of Regents adopted a policy which said, in essence, that racial imbalance (and we coined the word) had to go in order to achieve equal distribution of educational opportunities. This was encouraged along by our commissioner of education. Writing a letter to school districts in 1963, the state commissioner said, "You have imbalance in your schools. What have you done about it? And what are you going to do about it? Let me know."

Unfortunately, that story as released didn't make the newspaper deadlines, and one of the men on the wire services out of Albany happened to go to page 4 of the letter and saw 50 percent, and he defined racial imbalance as 50 percent. One of our neighboring states just put that into law. There are a series of numbers in this matter of racial imbalance, but that's not the one.

After bringing the issue out into the open and requesting school boards and school districts to face their local responsibility, we indicated we would help them in every way possible. I think we've gotten out of our committee stage. I recall there was a time when Theron Johnson went to meet the boards of education and superintendents, and this was one of the most secretive of meetings that you could set up. In fact, we even altered our expense accounts because expense accounts are public documents, and they could find out where I'd been, and many newsmen wanted to make stories out of it. But I think we're beyond that committee stage.

I'd like to suggest for a few moments some of the things we have learned. We certainly have learned that racial imbalance is harmful to both Negro and white students. You could go to any school district in New York State some years ago, stand on any street corner in the bi-racial district, and say, "Where's your Negro school?" One thing that has happened in education, even where there are no bi-racial districts, is the development of a status order in elementary buildings. I think this certainly has had its full fruition when we've had bi-racial districts. We found that, no matter what the social economic status of the families involved, when there was a school viewed as a Negro school, we found depressed motivation and learning for Negro youths; and we found unnecessary and illogical feelings of superiority on the part of white youngsters; and none had a chance to check out their learning experiences across this line.

Now these, we know, are artificial separations, artificial societies. So I grant that when we hear, "What are you trying to do now, to make

artificial arrangements?" our answer is not always believed. We are trying to get *realistic* arrangements and to do away with the artificialities that we have, because we know that separates can't be equals.

A second thing we have learned so far as New York State is concerned, and I'm sure that there are plenty of court decisions on it, is that there are no legal barriers in dealing with racial imbalance so far as public schools are concerned. The New York State Bar Association has written a very excellent document on that one. We, in local boards of education in New York State, not only *can* make the necessary arrangements, but in terms of the commissioner's position, we must.

We also learned that neighborhood schools suddenly became very sacred. Frankly, I don't know what a neighborhood school is. They are not related to neighborhoods as sociologists talk about them. They certainly have no relationships to size. You find neighborhood schools all the way from 125 to 900 kids. You find neighborhood schools to which children ride on buses. You find neighborhood schools to which children walk. We did find this—that the neighborhood school became awfully sacred when there was a color factor involved. And I'm not talking about TV here.

Of course, in New York, for years we've been getting away from neighborhood schools. They were the small country schools in the hollows. At one time we had ten to 11,000 school districts. Now, we have some 860. There are a lot of neighborhood schools that went by the board.

But I still say that I don't know what a neighborhood school is. One of our parent and taxpayer groups, in attempting to have a law passed in the legislature, defined neighborhood schools this way, and I think it is a most honest definition: "A neighborhood school is one which by custom and tradition has been viewed by the local community of the neighborhood school as such."

We found something here: Suddenly transportation has become an evil, and going on a bus is bad, and it's always a long distance. It's always there and back, and we could at least drop the back part, because you know that when you take someone somewhere, you have to get him back home. The other day I just ran a quick check. About 1,800,000 kids in New York State, excluding New York City, ride a bus to school every day. Now, if we took all the districts that have a bi-racial composition, roughly 40, and assumed that every child in that district rode a bus for the purpose of integration, we would have about 1.5 percent of the children in New York State riding a bus for integration purposes. Now, if we mark off those that ride for other purposes, we would find that it would be way less than one percent. So this, we find, has been a false issue. Now frankly, we find that kids like to ride buses.

We've also found out that there is a considerable demand for absolute proof of the fact that standards don't go down when schools are inte-

grated. Facetiously, and it's not so facetious, I often say that if we only keep in our present educational system that which is absolutely proved by research, about the only thing we keep is a time clock. But on the matter of integration, we demand absolute proof.

We do know that to deal with problems of segregation and racial imbalance the system as it has operated must change. There is just no doubt about it. In fact, if you don't change, you can't deal with the issue.

The matter of ability grouping has been brought up. Tests can be used for many purposes. I'm often reminded that in a medical clinic you have two kinds of thermometers, and if you use the wrong one in the wrong place, you get the wrong reading. This often happens in some of the tests which are being used.

We've also found out there is no plan dealing with the administrative aspects of racial imbalance in the school districts which can be applied statewide. History, tradition, geography, figuration, grade arrangements, where buildings are, etc., etc., make it necessary to provide for each individual school district the administrative arrangements and combinations which can give to them a viable, lasting, working system which also fulfills the principal of equity. I'll comment on that later. And there are relatively few administrative arrangements and rearrangements that can be used. The one which is often heard of is open enrollment. You know its traditional weaknesses. It has relatively little value. I will say that there is one school district in the state, an urban district, which has used open enrollment as one of its elements, and it has done so creatively, and where you usually find that one to three percent take it where it's offered, in this school district there was a 35 percent take.

There is a second aspect, an administrative aspect, that is usable in terms of doing away with racial imbalance. Obviously, you heard Mr. Rustin this morning talk about the educational park idea. You also heard him talk about what is called educational complexes.

The third administrative arrangement, which has limited utility, is that of changing attendance lines. That is, every school district has delegated to it from the state the responsibility of assignment of pupils to a particular building. And this has been used and used. However, the changing of attendance lines does have some difficulty because of residential configurations. One school district creatively worked on this one. They kept an attendance area, but closed the school building in it. They had an attendance area with no building in it. And using the right of assignment, they altered their whole organization.

However, I think the thing which has the most possibility and the greatest potential and is educationally exciting and challenging is what we call grade reorganization. The way we have our schools organized now—so many grades in one building and so many in another, and so on—I don't think has an awful lot of relationship to learning and other

educational aspects. Grade reorganization often goes by the name of the Princeton plan. But that is only one possibility of it.

We found in a number of our school districts that lessening the age span for children in a school brings more children of the same age group together in one or two grades—or sometimes three—and permits you to bring to bear the talent and resources of the whole system and of all the teachers themselves into this one building and to create a far richer kind of educational experience. May I say all along that these administrative rearrangements have only one reason for their being used—and that is to create better education for all.

We found out something else. One of the prime requirements in dealing with the problem of racial imbalance is a strong position by the board of education. Where there is equivocation and lack of leadership, you can bet your bottom buck you will have a heck of a lot of conflict. And may I just cite Malverne, Long Island, as a good example for that one—equivocation and vacillation. No one knows any more what's going to happen, and change keeps complicating the situation.

We're finding that in dealing with the educational issues, and this being one of them, it is in the beginning a bit more costly to reorganize your school system than to keep it going as it is. We recognize that there is not only a state but also a federal responsibility here. We're finding legislation at the federal level which is beginning to pick up some of that federal responsibility. We have not had too much financial success at the state level. We requested of the legislature that $5 million be made available to the commissioner of education to use in aiding school districts to carry out their plan for the elimination of racial imbalance. And may I say, parenthetically, that we have roughly 40 bi-racial districts in New York State. Over half of them have reorganized their schools and no longer have any racial imbalance. And I haven't heard one of them yet say that they wish they could go back to where they were. They are saying in essence: "We are glad we are here and we wouldn't change back. The contention is out of the way, and we can freely put our attention to what we are here for—good education for all."

The $5 million didn't fare too well in our legislature. In the executive budget, it was down to zero. We now have the problem of trying to get it back. But this is necessary. The state must, as we say, put its money where its mouth is.

We found this also, that racism is more rampant than we had anticipated, or had believed. Now, I'm not suggesting that everyone who was for a neighborhood school is a racist. I don't mean that at all. But we get a lot of fan mail, as David Seeley expressed it this morning. And you can be sure that everytime your name gets in the paper you're put on somebody's else's mailing list.

For a while, the commissioner of education was referred to as the "commissar" of education. These letters were always signed "Patriotic American," of course. Then, for a while, he was termed as a facist. Now, I don't know how you can turn from one to another. Most of the mail is quite blatant, but there is also a lot of it that is subtle and rather sophisticated. We are finding that racism is more rampant than we had really anticipated, and it is often expressed in political ways.

I think the main thing we have found, is this—there will be a revolution regarding segregation or racial imbalance in the schools in the Northeast. The only question that is apt is what is going to result from it. And that I would hope will get to our educational leadership, boards of education, and maybe even to educational establishments which are willing. You've got to be willing and able.

And as it can be always said in a rather crude way, when this gets into your guts, you will change it. And it does take that kind of thinking and that kind of commitment. I hope we can rise to it, but I am not sure at this time.

'All Should Share America's Advantages'

Address By

WILLIAM J. SANDERS

Commissioner of Education, State of Connecticut

IT IS THE AIM of education in this country to provide equality of opportunity for every American. But opportunity for what?

Dr. Sanders

First, the opportunity to be effective *politically*—to have an effective voice in the process of self-government at all levels.

Secondly, the chance to be effective *economically*—to be able to sustain one's self and one's family by providing adequate food, clothing and shelter.

Third, an open door to effective *social action*—as a member of social groups in which, through participation, one can develop a sense of social fidelity and a sense of self-esteem.

It is apparent that politically, economically and socially, the majority of Negroes in the North—particularly the recent arrivals—are at a disadvantage in their new setting. Many have not yet had time or opportunity to develop competent leaders to help them adjust to the strange urban setting in which they now find themselves. Many have not had an opportunity to develop the more sophisticated skills required for employment in urban centers. Many are identified with poverty and are crowded into the "warrens of the poor." As a result, poverty breeds delinquency, crime, and disorder in the family and communal life.

These circumstances pose severe impediments to the attainment of success and to the nourishment of self-esteem. They are circumstances that should be removed.

Our Negro citizens suffer experiences similar to those once suffered by ethnic groups migrating here from European countries. Like their predecessors, the newcomers are feared by many already here—not only because they are different, but because they offer competition for jobs.

A major mission of the public schools in urban centers of the North has been to meet the needs of our migrants. One of these compelling

needs is a real chance to escape from poverty—an escape from the corruptive influences of the environment imposed upon the urban poor—to have adequate space for decent living, and to enjoy reasonable comfort.

An equally compelling need is to find an avenue of escape from the feeling of futility which stems from not having a position where one can make a contribution to the economy, and where one can share in the goods produced by the economy. Attainment of such a position is essential to the development of self-esteem.

Immediately, children in these urban centers should spend more time in school. They should start earlier than kindergarten. The school day should be longer. Classes should be smaller and instruction more individualized. The standards of performance and behavior should be as high as those required of more fortunate children. However, there will remain a distribution of ability among these children—some will be more intelligent and more able than others. This is true of all children. The tutorial approach to instruction and an increase in special services will be necessary, if their educational and social handicaps are to be overcome.

Many children in urban centers attend school in old, overcrowded buildings. Such structures must be replaced immediately by the best designed and equipped buildings possible. And these should be so located that all the children enrolled are not at the same low level of poverty.

Some artificial mixing is desirable—where possible—to break down interracial fears and misunderstandings. Experimentation in this direction, also, is immediately necessary and should be provided through the leadership of local school boards, rather than by state or federal mandate.

Although rapid progress must be made in desegregation, it does not appear realistic to expect that the Negro will be completely integrated, any more than any other ethnic group in American society. Indeed, to be politically effective, the Negro minority should depend upon alliances with other political blocks. As education improves and genuine leadership emerges, the interest of the group as a whole will be discerned and sought. Elimination of distinctiveness or separateness, would, if accomplished, serve to weaken the position of the Negro politically, rather than improve it.

It is true that many educated and trained Negroes have experienced difficulty in obtaining jobs for which they are prepared. That they be placed is not only the responsibility of industry, it is also a responsibility of the educational system. It is a duty of placement officers in colleges, as well as in high schools, to work with employers and unions to get qualified Negro graduates into positions equal to their ability and training. It is unacceptable that trained and educated Negroes should—simply

because of race—continue to work below their levels of ability and training.

With a concerted drive toward proper placement on the part of educators and toward greater receptiveness on the part of employers—particularly through the enunciation of employment policies favoring the employment of qualified Negroes—responsible Negro leaders will emerge in business, industry, and government. These leaders, by fostering improved employment practices, and by example, will encourage Negro youth to prepare for responsible positions. Improvement of self-esteem will accompany economic betterment. A resulting decrease in poverty will encourage social orderliness. Also, through familiarity brought about from working together, there will be a decrease in the fear that stems from unfamiliarity and from ignorance. To bring about these conditions through sound placement procedures is a highly appropriate objective for those responsible for the education of the young.

I have already mentioned the mixing of children in school. There is no particular formula for this at the present time. But there are some indications of what will be helpful. Mixing should begin on a random scale with younger children. This is not the case with adolescents. Where artificial mixing of adolescents occurs—that is, when youngsters are transferred out of their neighborhood—it is well to select those who will more readily adapt. With younger children, there is greater natural adaptability.

However, in either case, mixing must be accompanied by strong supportive services. For example, there should be more guidance counselors, social workers, speech therapists, and tutorial help. In short, there should be concurrent compensatory education to make the necessary adjustment easier.

Also, it is essential that parents visit classes, school assemblies, and become involved in seminars in which progress reports are discussed. School PTA's should be reconstructed so that a number of parent groups will meet within the school at different times. Greater participation by parents should be encouraged through strong promotional devices. It is important that the school should help overcome parental fears and misunderstandings. This places a great burden on school personnel, but it can be carried out if supportive services are adequate. This may be costly, but it is necessary.

It is not possible to specify an ideal ratio for mixing which covers all situations. Space limitations and rapidly changing concentrations of population can overturn even the most carefully figured formulas.

As a start, it is necessary to do as much mixing as practical, however, and to foster its growth.

You have heard today from others of many devices for speeding up this mix. You have also heard that there are no legal impediments to any of

the methods being tried out. There will be expressions of fear from some quarters. But with the beginning trial runs, these expressions should diminish. There is every reason to be hopeful that adequately supported artificial mixing—once it has been tried—will grow.

There has been much debate about the proposal of the cooperative project involving Hartford and several suburban school districts. The air has become clearer as the result of this debate and considerable progress has been made beyond the position held by many people just six months ago. There are many more responsible people who want to do something constructive in this area than might have been expected. And this number will certainly grow. I sincerely hope that the action of the several boards of education involved in participating in this proposed project will be a source of inspiration to other school authorities in urban centers throughout the North.

It is important to note that through the action of Governor Dempsey and the 1965 General Assembly, $10 million was made available for projects to aid the disadvantaged in this state during the present biennium. In addition, over $7 million was made available by Congress under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act for development of projects in schools to help youngsters in areas of poverty to overcome the disadvantages from which they suffer. School authorities in Connecticut have been most vigorous in designing suitable projects. There will be somewhat more than another $7 million available from the Federal Government for the year 1966-67. And it is our firm belief that this also will be fully utilized.

It is up to all of us engaged in the education of children to use our wit, our energy, and good will to assure every child in the state—no matter what his ethnic group or economic condition—full opportunity to share the political and economic advantages of being a free American—and, above all, to enjoy the self-esteem that derives from this status.

I am sure all the educational authorities in this state share this concern and will work together toward this end.